Modern China and the West

East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture

Edited by

Zhang Longxi (*City University of Hong Kong*)
Wiebke Denecke (*Boston University*)

VOLUME 2

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/eacl*

Modern China and the West

Translation and Cultural Mediation

Edited by

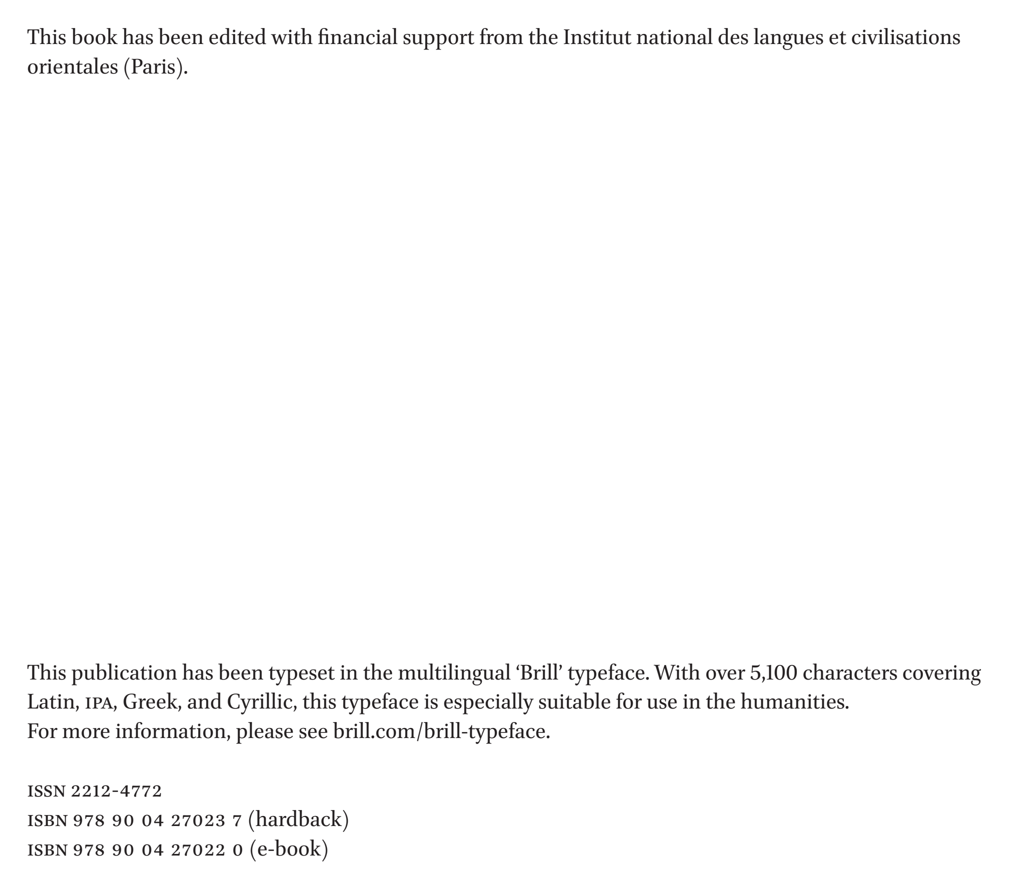
Peng Hsiao-yen and Isabelle Rabut



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

This book has been edited with financial support from the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (Paris).



This publication has been typeset in the multilingual 'Brill' typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities.
For more information, please see brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2212-4772
ISBN 978 90 04 27023 7 (hardback)
ISBN 978 90 04 27022 0 (e-book)

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Contents

Series Editors' Foreword

East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture

East Asia is reaching into the world. The number of Chinese students and scholars studying at foreign universities has never been larger, the "Korean wave" washes K-dramas and K-pop ashore all continents, and Japanese manga and anime garner millions of young fans in New Delhi and Cape Town, Oslo and Vladivostok, New York and Rome. Popular culture proves a powerful medium to connect East Asian countries to the world, but also to each other, softening the divisions that the twentieth century has brought to this region.

Much of what a good century ago connected the East Asian "Sinographic Sphere" of China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam—cultures that traditionally relied on the Chinese script and literary language—has disappeared. East Asians around the year 1900 still communicated through the authoritative *lingua franca* of Literary Chinese. For almost two millennia "Chinese-style writing" had been the language of government, scholarship, Buddhism, and belles-lettres: Under China's hegemony many states adopted Chinese culture and its script during the first millennium CE. During the second millennium Japan, Vietnam, and Korea developed phonographic scripts that led to the gradual abandonment of Chinese characters in Korea and Vietnam and the blossoming of local vernacular literatures. In the early twentieth century reformers inspired by Western ideas of "nation states" and "national languages" spearheaded vernacular movements that swept Chinese-style writing and the intellectual and literary culture that went with it aside.

The death of Literary Chinese as East Asia's venerable literary language over the past century and its replacement with the English language and Western culture marks an irreversible and little noticed inflection point in the history of humanity: the disappearance of the world's last cultural sphere where a strongly "logographic" script (recording meaning of "words" rather than "sounds" as "phonographic" alphabets do) had enabled distinctive literary cultures to thrive for almost two millennia. The world history of writing starts with strongly logographic writing systems: Egyptian hieroglyphs, Mesopotamian cuneiform, Chinese characters and Mesoamerican glyphs. Phonographic scripts have long since replaced all but Chinese characters. Thanks to the logographic writing system East Asia's "bi-literacy"—textual production in Literary Chinese and local vernaculars—functioned quite differently from alphabetic *lingua francas*. Europe's bilingualism during the Medieval Period was rooted in Latin, both spoken and read. In contrast, Chinese characters allowed East Asians (including speakers of Chinese dialects) to pronounce any given text in Literary Chinese in their local vernacular language.

Thus East Asia shared a "grapholect," or *scripta franca*, as we should call it more appropriately. In the absence of a common spoken language, people could communicate in "brush talk," conversing by passing paper back and forth. Around the year 1900 East Asian elites were still part of a shared world of transnational education and *Bildung* through intensive training in the Chinese Classics or a Chinese-style civil service examination system that brought elites in Hanoi and Seoul closer to each other than they were to their fellow peasant countrymen living in a village just outside the capital. The last Chinese-style civil service examinations were held in Vietnam in 1919 under the French colonial government, fourteen years after the abolishment of the examination system in China herself.

The painful history of wars and colonial exploitation in the twentieth century has added yet more visceral divisions and, more recently, economic and military competition have done little to mend rifts. Rather they add to the global stream of daily news that define East Asia, negatively, as a region that fights over history text books and the naming of war events as "massacres" or "incidents," struggles over appropriate ways to honor the war dead, and quibbles over uninhabited islands. Because national ideologies have come to define East Asia over the past century, the death of East Asia's biliteracy and the shared culture it afforded have gone largely unlamented.

But the awareness of this common heritage is not just of academic relevance or nostalgic interest. Rather, bringing the rich histories of shared and contested legacies back into collective memory within East Asia and into public consciousness throughout the world, while not erasing all the complicated political and ideological issues generated by recent history, will contribute to the creation of a positive transnational identity where Japanese or Koreans will hopefully one day proudly call themselves "East Asians," just as most French and Germans have overcome their war wounds and both would call themselves "Europeans" today.

This is the most ambitious goal of Brill's new book series *East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture.* The book series responds to a swiftly growing need as educational curricula, research agendas, and journalistic writing aim for an ever more inclusive global scope. With the increasing international importance of East Asia in economic, political, and cultural terms, more and more scholars and general readers are seeking a better grasp of this part of the world which can boast long-standing histories and traditions as well as vibrating modern cultures.

East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture responds to the need for a deeper understanding and appreciation of this region by publishing substantial comparative research on the literary and cultural traditions of East Asia and their relation to the world. We showcase original research on the methodology and practice of comparison, including intra-East Asian comparisons of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam; East-West comparisons that examine Western alongside East Asian traditions; and comparative studies that examine East Asian literatures and cultures in the light of

their relations with India, the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America. The series focuses on interpretive sciences, that is, the core Humanities of literature, history, religion, philosophy and thought, art history, but also welcomes contributions adopting culturally-informed approaches in archeology, historical geography, anthropology, political science, sociology, or linguistics. It befits our historical moment well to make sure that we as scholars combine comparative analysis with the depth of area-study-expertise and philology, theoretical acumen, and a courageous orientation towards the exploration of fundamental questions. This is the tall order that this book series and its authors are taking on. We are confident, however, that the book series we put forward in response to the rapidly growing interest in the entire East Asian region will make significant contributions to scholarship and mutual understanding and successfully integrate knowledge about and approaches to different literary and cultural traditions through critical examination in comparison.

Wiebke Denecke
Zhang Longxi

Contributor Biographical Information

Xiaomei Chen
is professor of Chinese literature at the University of California at Davis. She is the author of *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* and *Acting the Right Part: Political Theater and Popular Culture in Contemporary China*; editor of *Reading the Right Text: An Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Dram*a and *Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Drama*; and coeditor of *East of West: Cross-cultural Performance and the Staging of Difference* and *Visual Culture in Contemporary China*. Her book, entitled *Performing Chinese Revolution: Founding Fathers, Red Classics, and Revisionist Histories of Twentieth-century China*, is forthcoming from Columbia University Press.

Pin-chia Feng
is Distinguished Professor of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at National Chiao Tung University and Research Fellow of the Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica (joint appointment). She was NCTU's Provost of Academic Affairs, Chair of NCTU's Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, President of the Comparative Literature Association of ROC (2005–2008), President of the Association of English and American Literature (2009–2011), and a recipient of the 2007 and 2010 Outstanding Research Award of Taiwan's National Science Council. Her monograph, *Diasporic Representations: Reading Chinese American Women's Fiction*, was awarded Academia Sinica's Scholarly Monograph Award in the Humanities and Social Sciences (2012). Feng received her Ph.D. in English from the University of Wisconsin-Madison (1994). She writes on issues of gender, race, and representation in films as well as in Asian American, African American and Afro-Caribbean literatures.

Max K.W. Huang
is a research fellow at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica and professor of Chinese history at National Taiwan Normal University and at National Taiwan University. He received his Ph. D. in History at Stanford University. His three most recent books are: *The Meaning of Freedom: Yan Fu and the Origins of Chinese Liberalism* (2008), *Weishi zhian: Yan Fu yu jindai Zhongguo wenhua zhuanxing* (Adjusting to the Trends of the world is the Only Path to Serenity: Yan Fu and Cultural Transformation in Modern China,

2010), and *Jindai Zhonguo de renwu yu sichao* (People and Intellectual Trends in Modern China, 2013). He is currently working on the history of key intellectual concepts in late Qing and early Republican China.

Françoise Kreissler

is Professor of modern and contemporary Chinese History at the Institut des Langues et Civilisations orientales (INALCO), Paris (Department of Chinese Studies). Ph.D. (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales). Member of the research unit HSTM (History, Society, Territories of the World); Associate Member of research Centre CECMC (Centre d'études et de recherches sur la Chine moderne et contemporaine, CNRS-EHESS), Paris. Recent publications: "Europäische Emigranten (1933–1945) in der chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung. Zwischen Politik und Geschichte", *Exilforschung* (Ein internationales Jahrbuch), 30/2012; "In search of identity: the German community in Shanghai, 1933–1945", in : Robert Bickers, Christian Henriot (eds.), *New Frontiers. Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia*, 1842-1953, Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2012 (1st ed. 2000); « Le Mémorial de Nankin: Lieu de mémoire collective ? », in: Carola Hähnel-Mesnard, Marie Liénard-Yeterian, Cristina Marinas (dir.), *Culture et mémoire : Représentations contemporaines de la mémoire dans les espaces mémoriels, les arts du visuel, la littérature et le théâtre*, Palaiseau: Éditions de l'École Polytechnique, 2008; « L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle et la Chine: un partenariat privilégié ? », in: *60 ans d'histoire de l'UNESCO*, Actes du colloque international, Paris, UNESCO, 16–18 novembre 2005, Paris : Unesco, 2007.

Hsien-hao Sebastian Liao

is Professor of English and comparative literature at National Taiwan University, Taiwan. He received his Ph.D. from Stanford University and was post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University, visiting professor at University of Washington (Seattle), visiting fellow at Princeton University, Chicago University, Chinese University of Hong Kong, and most recently Walter Mangold Visiting Fellow at University of Melbourne (2011). He also served as President of the Comparative Literature Association of Taiwan (ROC) and Commissioner of the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government. Since 2012, he has been Executive Director of Taiwan's Language Training and Testing Center. His main research fields include comparative poetics, critical theories, contemporary fiction, modern Taiwanese literature and culture, Hongloumeng studies, and cultural policy formation. His English articles have appeared in Journals such as *American*

Journal of Semiotics, *Journal of Modern Literature In Chinese*, and *Concentric* and in the following collected volumes: *Postmodernism and China* (Duke 2000), *Postmodernism in Asia* (Tokyo UP, 2003), *Cultural Dilemmas in Transitions* (Lit Verlag, 2004), *Genre in Asian Film and Television* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), *Imaging and Imagining Taiwan* (Harrassowitz, 2012), *Deleuze in China* (Henan UP, 2013), and *Deleuze and Asia* (Cambridge Scholar, forthcoming 2014).

Joyce C.H. Liu
is Professor of Critical Theory, Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature in the Graduate Institute for Social Research and Cultural Studies, Chiao Tung University, Taiwan. She received her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1984. She had founded and chaired the Graduate Program of Comparative Literature at Fu Jen University in 1994, and the Graduate Institute for Social Research and Cultural Studies, Chiao Tung University in 2002. She was also the former chair of the Association of Cultural Studies in Taiwan. Her research covers the question of East-Asian modernity, psychoanalysis and contemporary French critical thoughts, radical philosophy on politic-ethics and aesthetics, the question of the visual. She has published several books, including *The Topology of Psyche: The Post-1895 Reconfiguration of Ethics* (Taipei: Flaneur, 2011), *The Perverted Heart: The Psychic Forms of Modernity* (Maitian: 2004), *Orphan, Goddess, and the Writing of the Negative: The Performance of Our Symptoms* (Lixu: 2000), *Eight Essays on Literature and the Other Arts: Intertextuality, Counterpoint and Cultural Interpretation* (San Ming: 1994). Other academic articles appeared in *Positions: east asia cultures critique*, *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, *Router: A Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Chungwai Wenxue and Chungguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Jikan*.

Peng Hsiao-yen
is Research Fellow at Academia Sinica. Her publications in English include *Antithesis Overcome: Shen Congwen's Avant-gardism and Primitivism* (Academia Sinica, 1994); *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flaneur, and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris* (Routledge 2010, Chinese version Lianjing 2012). Her publications in Chinese include *Beyond Realism* (Lianjing, 1993); *There are Many Loopholes in History: from Zhang Wuojun to Li Ang* (Academia Sinica, 2000); and *Desire in Shanghai: From Zhang Ziping to Liu Na'ou* (Academia Sinica, 2001). She is also editor of *Yangkui quanji* (Complete works of Yangkui 1998–2001), in Chinese and

Japanese, 14 volumes, and co-editor of *China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer Through Translation, 1829–2010* (Rodopi 2012) and *From Eileen Chang to Ang Lee: Lust/Caution* (Routledge 2014).

Angel Pino
is Professor at Bordeaux Montaigne University (chair: "China: Modern and Contemporary Society"), and director of the Center for Far-Eastern Studies and Research (TELEM, EA 4195). Field of studies: literature and politics in modern China; Taiwanese literature; translation; history of sinology. Wrote extensively about Ba Jin. Last publication: *Ba Jin anarchiste*, Spécial Issue of *A contretemps: bulletin de critique bibliographique* (Paris), No. 45, March 2013. Author, editor or co-editor of: *Un siècle d'enseignement du chinois à l'École des langues orientales, 1840–1945* (Paris, L'Asiathèque, 1995); *Léon d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, 1822–1892* (Île Saint-Denis, Oniros, 1995); *Pékin-Shanghai: tradition et modernité dans la Chine des années 30* (Paris, Bleu de Chine, 2000); *La Littérature taïwanaise: état des recherches et réception à l'étranger* (Paris, You Feng, 2011); *La Littérature chinoise hors de ses frontières* (Paris, You Feng, 2013); *Bibliographie générale des œuvres littéraires modernes d'expression chinoise traduites en français* (Paris, You Feng, 2014).Translated works by Shen Congwen, Ba Jin, Yang Jiang, Chi Li, Yu Hua, Chu T'ien-hsin, Chu T'ien-wen, etc. Co-director, with Isabelle Rabut and Chan Hing-ho, of the collection "Lettres taïwanaises" (Taiwanese Literature).

Isabelle Rabut
studied ancient Greek and Latin and classical literature at École normale supérieure (Paris), and switched later to Chinese studies. Ph.D. in modern Chinese literature (on Shen Congwen) at INALCO (Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales). Professor of modern Chinese literature at INALCO and director of the resarch unit ASIES. Field of studies: modern and contemporary Chinese literature; Taiwanese literature; translation. Wrote about Shen Congwen, Yu Hua, Zhang Ailing, Chu T'ienwen, *jingpai and haipai, sanwen* as a literary genre, etc. Editor or co-editor of *Pékin-Shanghai: Tradition et modernité dans la Chine des années 30* (Bleu de Chine, 2000), *Les Belles Infidèles dans l'Empire du Milieu* (You Feng, 2010), *La littérature taïwanaise : état des recherches et réception à l'étranger* (You Feng, 2011), *La Littérature chinoise hors de ses frontières* (You Feng, 2013).Translated works by Shen Congwen, Ba Jin, Yang Jiang, Bi Feiyu, Chi Li, Yu Hua, Chu T'ien-hsin, Chu T'ien-wen, etc. Director of the collection "Lettres chinoises" (Chinese literature) of Actes Sud publishing house. Co-director, with Angel Pino and Chan Hing-ho, of the collection "Lettres taïwanaises" (Taiwanese literature).

Te-hsing Shan

received his Ph.D. in comparative literature from National Taiwan University in 1986. Currently, he is Distinguished Research Fellow of the Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica, Taiwan and Distinguished Adjunct Professor of Humanities, Department of Translation, Lingnan University, Hong Kong.

In addition to journal articles and book chapters in Chinese and English, his publications include *Inscriptions and Representations: Chinese American Literary and Cultural Criticism* (2000), *Re*(-)*acting* (*Hi-*)*Story: American Literary History and Cultural Criticism* (2001), *Translations and Contexts* (2007), *Transgressions and Innovations: Asian American Literary and Cultural Studies* (2008), and *Edward W. Said in Taiwan* (2011). He has also published two collections of interviews: *Dialogues and Interchanges: Interviews with Contemporary Writers and Critics* (2001), and *In the Company of the Wise: Conversations with Asian American Writers and Critics* (2009). Moreover, he has translated nearly twenty books from English into Chinese, including *The Challenge of the American Dream* (1997), *Representations of the Intellectual* (1997), an annotated translation of *Gulliver's Travels* (2004), and *Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said* (2005). His research areas include American literary history, Asian American Literature, Cultural Studies, and Translation Studies.

Nicolai Volland

teaches twentieth century China at the National University of Singapore. His research focuses on the intersection of literature, culture, and history, as well as on China's interaction with the world beyond its borders. He is the author of *Cold War Cosmopolitanism: China's Cultural Encounter with the Socialist World*, and numerous articles on cultural exchange, translation, print culture, media, and the Internet in China. He is editor (with Christopher G. Rea) of *The Business of Culture: Cultural Entrepreneurs in China and Southeast Asia, 1900–1965* (UBC Press, 2014). He received his Ph. D. in Modern Chinese Studies from the University of Heidelberg, Germany. Before coming to Singapore, he was a postdoctoral fellow at Academia Sinica and taught at the University of Heidelberg and at National Tsinghua University.

Yinde Zhang

is professor of Chinese studies at the University Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3, research director at the Centre of Comparative Literature Studies (CERC) of

this university and member of the Centre for the Study of Modern and Contemporary China (EHESS/CNRS). He also is visiting professor of the East China Normal University (Shanghai).

He currently is research fellow at the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China (CEFC, Hong Kong) on CNRS secondments. His research focuses on contemporary Chinese Literature and Sino-Western Literary Relations in the 20th-21st Centuries. His publications in French include *The Chinese Fiction World in the Twentieth Century*.

Modernities and Identities (Le Monde romanesque chinois au XXe siècle. Modernités et identités), Paris, Honoré Champion, 2003; *Comparative Literature and Chinese perspectives* (Littérature comparée et perspectives chinoises), Paris, L'Harmattan, 2008; *Mo Yan: the Place of Fiction* (Mo Yan: le lieu de la fiction), Paris, Seuil, 2014.

Acknowledgements

The papers collected in this volume were first presented at an international conference in Paris on December 7–8, 2006. It was co-organized by the Center of Chinese Studies of the Institut des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy of Academia Sinica, and National Chiao Tung University in Taiwan. We gratefully acknowledge the support of Academia Sinica for an initial pilot study grant in 2006–2007, which led to the conceptualization of the conference. It was eventually made possible by a conference grant from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. This volume would not have existed without the generous support of these institutions in various forms over the years.

We would like to express our gratitude to many people who have made this volume possible. To our contributors, who have worked laboriously with us for years on end, constantly exchanging ideas, answering meticulous questions, and untiringly committed to innumerable revisions. To our copy editor Mrs. Julie Hu, for her scrupulous attention to detail, and for negotiating with our contributors with the utmost patience possible.

Introduction

Peng Hsiao-yen and Isabelle Rabut

In cross-cultural relations, translation as a form of cultural mediation plays a significant role. The word "mediation" points to the role of translators and cultural actors in the transmission of texts and ideas, and to the complex circulation of the latter. As far as legal mediation is concerned, we expect a disinterested mediator who resolves disputes in the spirit of fairness. But in cultural mediation it is quite another story: cultural mediators always have their own agendas. Also, one should note that cultural mediators include not only individuals, but transnational organizations that bring about cross-cultural interactions, and regulating authorities, in the form of both nation-states and ideologies, which dictate what, and even how, to translate. The question then becomes: in the face of institutional powers, is there room at all for individuals to exercise their free will, and to what extent are they allowed to do so?

Thus in transcultural and transnational interactions the concept of "mediation" involves power struggles between individual and institutional powers as well. During this intricate process, what stands out is the function of translation as "a shaping force," as pointed out by Suan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Bassnet and Lefevere 1990). While intending to shape, or reshape, certain concepts through the translating act, translators and cultural actors need to negotiate among multifarious institutional powers that coexist, including traditional and foreign. Therefore it is inevitable that once they enter into the domestic soil, foreign concepts begin to engage in a series of transformations until they eventually become alien to their "original" selves. However, what is at issue is less the similarities and differences, but the routes and detours through which connections, or disconnections, are made, and through which transformations take place.

This volume, concentrating on the cultural mediations between modern China and the West, collects some of the latest research by scholars from Taiwan, China, Singapore, France, and the United States. Covering a broad range of fields, including Sino-European relations, translation studies, China studies, and Asian-American literature, our authors are all concerned with issues of cultural mediation, trying to make the connections that have tied modern China to the West. The chapters are grouped under three sections, the first focusing on translators and cultural actors as mediators, the second, on translation as a shaping force, and the third, on transcultural negotiations.

 | doi 10.1163/9789047270220_002

Translators and Cultural Actors as Mediators

From Françoise Kreissler's essay one gets a sense of the complex mediations between international organizations and personal agency in cross-cultural relations. It concerns Sino-European dialogue during the 1920s and 1930s, a long-term dialogue made possible by the League of Nations created after the Versailles Treaty in 1919, which China had refused to sign because it failed to nullify the "unequal treaties" imposed by the West on the late Qing. Finding it impossible to prevail through "the frontal strategy," the Chinese Nationalist government resorted to "technical cooperation" with the League of Nations. Kreissler, concentrating on the intellectual cooperation initiated mainly by France, analyzes the workings of the two organizations established during the process: the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

Kreissler points out that during the Sino-European intellectual interactions, France envisioned the ideal Chinese representative as "an old Chinaman in a robe, not knowing Western languages, but full of philosophy and noble minded," but China nominated instead the renowned anarchist Wu Zhihui, who had studied in Japan and lived in London, Paris, and Lyon. According to Kreissler, since the Chinese actors involved in the Sino-European "intellectual cooperation" were all "first-class experts on the Western intellectual world and on European culture," they were able to convince the League of Nations to organize a mission of European experts to China. The report of the mission and subsequent arrival of European teachers in the country not only contributed to accelerating her reconstruction and modernisation through educational reform, but also allowed her to participate in transnational forums. Kreissler thus demonstrates the indispensable role of individual interventions, often bypassed by institutional documents, in the process of transnational negotiations.

Angel Pino studies how Ba Jin as a translator cannot be separated from his political aims and social networks, all related to anarchism. According to Pino, Ba Jin was fascinated by the actors in the Russian revolution, especially popularists and nihilists. As to genres, Pino points out that although Ba Jin translated all kinds of genres, he seemed to favor theoretical writings and autobiography. Pino also notes that Ba Jin was in direct contact with only five of the fifty-nine authors he translated. Like almost all the anarchists in the world, Ba Jin was a polyglot and taught himself most of the languages he translated from, with a view to "transposing foreign works into his native tongue," as Pino points out.

According to Pino, in both Ba Jin's completed works and complete translated works, the translated texts appear in different volumes without any obvious logic as to how they were arranged. In order to give a clearer picture of Ba Jin's translating career, spanning nearly seventy years, Pino arranges the total output of his translated works in chronological order, cross-referencing them at the same time, so that readers can easily trace out the reprints of works in different collections. Not only does he draw up the most complete inventory of Ba Jin's translations to date, with the names of the original authors provided, some never identified before; he also addresses practical questions such as the languages from which Ba Jin translated and the route through which he discovered or was directed to the works he chose to translate.

Te-hsing Shan examines the famous author Eileen Chang as a translator of American literature as well as of her own works, an aspect that has not drawn much critical attention so far. According to Shan, Chang became a translator in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s under the sponsorship of the World Today Press there, which was in fact supported by the United States Information Service "under the containment policy of the Cold war period," aiming to disseminate American culture in non-Communist Chinese-speaking communities. Shan points out that, despite its political aim, the good quality of the World Today Press translation series of American literature has set a high standard for Chinese translation and has had a long-lasting influence on Chinese students of American literature.

Shan analyzes Chang's strategies of translation, including naturalization and foreignization, concepts made famous by Lawrence Venuti in *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (Venuti 1995). He refers to her translation of Emerson's works, in which Christian terms are often changed into terms full of Buddhist connotations. Though such naturalizing strategies produce a sense of familiarity among the readers, the price to be paid should not be neglected, according to Shan. He points out that foreignization, on the other hand, risks being incomprehensible to the reader, although it may enrich the target language. It would be interesting to compare the strategies Chang used when translating foreign literature with those she resorted to while translating her own work: how did she resolve the conundrums facing naturalization and foreignization in the process of self-translation?

Nicolai Volland investigates the emergence of translation as a profession in the 1930s and the 1940s, and its final professionalization regulated by the authorities of the nation-state in Communist China in the 1950s. He points out that professionalization of occupations is part of the process of modernization, and that it entails "commonly agreed standards that regulate professional

behavior and are binding for all members." He distinguishes the writers-translators in Republican China such as Lu Xun and Ba Jin, from professional translators like Fu Lei, who in Volland's mind is the representative of the new breed of translators marking "a shift from the traditional *wenren* (literati) to a more modern concept of specialization."

Volland follows closely Fu Lei's career path in order to show how the increasing occupational competition after the 1920s drove him to become a professional translator. He points out that it was the growing specialization of fields such as teaching, academic research, and journalism that made Fu realize that he was not equipped for such careers, since he had failed to acquire a degree after studying at the University of Paris, and since he did not have the skills to maneuver between public opinion and factional positions. According to Volland, starting in the late 1930s, Fu eventually decided to devote most of his energy to translating, thanks to the Commercial Press's grand project of the translation of Romain Rolland's complete works. He points out that when the PRC stepped up the institutionalization of translating by subsuming all "translation workers" under a national association in the 1950s, translators were assigned to publishing houses or to the Writers Association, and lost to some extent their professional autonomy. Yet ironically Fu, assigned to the Writers Association, though likewise "governed by occupational specialization and clear work standards," was provided with ample time and resources to concentrate on his favorite French authors such as Rolland and Balzac, a fact that complicates the relationship between personal autonomy and the seemingly pervasive power of institutionalization.

Translation as a Shaping Force

The four chapters in this section look at the shaping of the concepts and practices of "psyche force," "liberalism," "romanticism," and "spoken drama" in modern China. While we are looking at translation as a shaping force, it is nonetheless equally essential that we understand it as one through the process of "rewriting" (Lefevere 1992), and that transformation is inevitable. The translation of foreign works and concepts in modern China should not be construed as a simple borrowing: the agency of the translator and receiving culture is involved at every stage, from the choice of texts to their interpretation, even "misinterpretation." The word "misinterpretation" itself might not be quite appropriate to describe a process of "rewriting" whereby a selection is made among the original meanings or implications of a notion and the elements taken from a foreign tradition are invested with new significations while medi-

ating with the many facets of domestic traditions. "Creative transformation" might be a more appropriate term.

In fact, one might wonder if "betrayal" is not the condition for the perpetuation of creative and autonomous thinking: Joyce Liu daringly uses the word in her essay on the intricate shaping process of Tan Si-tong's concept of "psyche force" through translation. Liu points out that Tan got the idea from the English missionary John Fryer's Chinese translation of a little book by Henry Wood developing the concept of "mental healing," (Wood's own term) which is invested with Christian connotations. Wood maintained that "The weak form of the human body was a mirror and the proof of the diseased human mind," according to Liu. She points out that Wood insists on the concept of mind control, which is tantamount to "mental hygiene," with "healthy and pure thoughts" permeating the body and "the unhealthy and unclean ones" eliminated, so that "the body will not become ill." Liu views Wood's original work and Fryer's translation as developing a mode of "psyche-governmentality," which she believes has had a long-lasting impact on later Chinese forms of government such as the post-war Guomindang (KMT) rule on Taiwan and the Cultural Revolution in China.

Liu points out that Tan's own translation and interpretation of the notion of "psyche force" deviated from John Fryer's version to merge with Buddhist ideas, leading to an anarchic vision of being, very different from the contemporary ideal of nation-state. For Tan, the psyche force is equal to "nothingness," or the "instant appearing and disappearing" in Buddhist thought; it is "the generic motive" or "the love force" that "fills the universe, unites elements and forms of the body," and "joins the limbs and flesh," according to Liu. She thinks that for Tan the psyche has "no fixed identity," nor "dualism between body and mind, or subject and object," and she believes that the power of his thought lies in his critique of Confucianism and its "nominal system" that regulates the hierarchical order in society. Her conclusion is that Tan envisions "a radical political view of the equality of beings" and his ethics are "freed from any fixed nominal ideology of ethics." We may say that since Tan emphasized the cultivation of the heart as a form of self-cultivation, it might not come as a surprise that his theory did not seem to have any impact on later Chinese governmentality.

Max K.W. Huang studies Yan Fu's translation of the concept of "liberalism," and shows that the translator is frequently faced with aporia when trying to transpose a foreign notion into his own language. Huang points out that the strategic stance taken by Yan Fu to translate the concept of "liberty" while rendering John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* into Chinese, is a response to a dual semantic problem: on one hand, the word "ziyou" 自繇, which he used first as a literal translation of "liberty," conveyed undesirable connotations of "license

to do as one pleases"; on the other hand, Yan was aware of the fact that there was no proper translation available for this Western concept, which had no exact equivalent in the Chinese tradition. That is why he resorted to a paraphrase: "qunji quanjie" 群己權界, which means "the boundary between self and group," according to Huang.

Huang further points out that by choosing the latter translation, Yan stressed the affinities between Mill's notion of liberty and traditional Confucian ideas of positive freedom, correlated with moral concerns for others and the law: "the moral subject's sense of empathy, and the emphasis on outer rules." Yan also realized that what distinguished the Western concept of liberty is its institutionalization: "passing into law both protection of and limitations on individual liberty," according to Huang. For Huang, Yan's wavering "between emphasizing the differences and emphasizing the similarities" marked his awareness of "discovering' new values" beyond traditional Chinese culture. Huang points out that, sensing the "dangerous misunderstandings" of Mill's concept of liberty in Chinese society, Yan set out to translate his book with a view toward "popular enlightenment," a common agenda for intellectuals of his generation. Huang maintains that Yan's concept of freedom "as a condition including morality and social order," close to Isaiah Berlin's concept of positive freedom, has been typical of the thinking of later Chinese liberal thinkers.

The May Fourth writers have been called the romantic generation by critics (Lee 1973). Nevertheless, Isabelle Rabut points out that the Chinese notion of "Romanticism" has been partly deprived of its sentimental or decadent connotations in its original European meaning, and has been praised, in the critical discourse of modern Chinese literature concerned with the future of China, as "an idealist current animated by the feeling of revolt and resolutely turned towards the future," even though many fictional works of the time considered romanticist contradict this definition. She analyzes the May Fourth writers' views on realism, romanticism, and naturalism, and tries to connect their views with those of modern Japanese writers. She finds that the core of the discussions involves debates on subjectivity and objective reality, and that the so-called "neo-romanticism," which attempted to reconcile the "'pure' objectivity of realism and the 'pure exaltation' of romanticism," was "unanimously appreciated" in the May Fourth period.

Rabut points out that in modern China, beset with umpteen revolutions, romanticism was connected with the notion of "revolt," and that for leftist writers, "All revolutionaries are also romanticists," a conscious or unconscious reversal of the original Western concept that "All romanticists are revolutionaries," and thus the distinction was made between marginality as opposed to

the center, and alternative culture as opposed to dominant culture. Although Chinese intellectuals were well aware of the tendency of Western romanticism to cling to the remote past, with the emergence of Creation Society writers such as Yu Dafu, she argues, the essential elements of romantic revolt were assessed to be "escaping from reason and morals," "passion," and "eroticism," while eventually this spirit of revolt will lead to "the creation of a new world." Her quote from Xu Zhimo discloses how he understood the romantic revolt as the human sentiment breaking away from the grip of reason: "sentiment of humanity ridding itself of the grip held by reason and bursting out like a flame."

Chen Xiaomei's article analyzes how Hong Shen's career shaped the development of spoken drama. According to Chen, Hong, one of the three founding fathers of modern Chinese drama, was the one who named the burgeoning new genre called "huaju" (spoken drama) in 1928, which foregrounds its "dialogue-only aspect," as opposed to the practices of "new drama" or "amateur theater." Chen points out that the solid training in Western dramatic tradition at Harvard University enabled Hong to adapt Western realist theater to the milieu of Chinese society. But she thinks the most significant factor in Hong's achievements is his consciousness of maintaining a distance from politics, which allowed him to fully resort to his Western theater training to perfect theatrical aesthetics. Although there are political themes such as class struggle in his works, the most important elements of a play for him are the structure and characterization, according to Chen.

Hong Shen's major contribution to drama, Chen argues, is the modernization of the genre through his practice as a Western-style director and theater manager: he demanded punctual arrival of the actors and repeated rehearsals until perfection was achieved; he succeeded in introducing actresses to play female roles, as opposed to the traditional cross-dressing practice. Chen points out that, besides being accused of relying on "Western things" in his theater productions, Hong Shen had to negotiate between oppositional ideologies and between art and politics during the Sino-Japanese war. Despite all that, he managed to record in detail the experiences and innovations in stage production during wartime popular performances by the theater troupes, which have been invaluable resources for later studies, according to Chen. She further points out how Hong rescued the "ghost plays" for their artistic values in traditional forms such as Guangdong opera, Henan opera, and Hunan opera, and maintains that his unique position in the history of modern Chinese drama lies in his mediations between Western and traditional theater practices.

Transcultural Negotiations

In the process of transcultural negotiations, it is often pointless to talk about the "purity" of a literary mode. What emerges instead is often a form of creativity that is hard to pin down, marked by "polymorphism" and hybridity. Zhang Yinde analyzes the stories of the Shanghai neo-sensationist authors who sought to "formulate a new realism," or "a new objectivity" through "a new mimetic step" that equates creative language with the physiognomy of the metropolitan city named Shanghai. Thus they engaged in "the double game" of "rewriting contemporary foreign works and giving care to the diversity of reality" embraced by city-dwellers, according to Zhang. He argues that textual fragmentation becomes the major characteristic of the stories they wrote, while the characters are displaced by the spectacular urban spaces such as hotels and nightclubs, which constitute "a splintered topography," in tandem with the textual fragmentation.

The neo-sensationist writers' transcultural practice is manifested in negotiations not only with foreign works, including those of French and American authors, but with genres outside of literature, such as music, dance, cinema, and psychology, according to Zhang. He calls the textual fragmentation of their writing the "verbal choreography," which is marked by repetition, or the dancing circularity of words, phrases, and sentences. This kind of "staccato and rhythmic writing," he argues, allows the infiltration of cinematic techniques of montage to create visual effects and to represent women who are the symbol of urban sensuality. For Zhang, the neo-sensationist writer Shi Zhecun's resort to psychic description discloses the subjectivity closely linked to the phantasmagoria of the horror and mystery of the metropolis.

There is ample evidence that the meanings of a single text or the possibility of it giving rise to new meanings in the reader's mind are potentially unlimited: the history of the transmission of texts is full of such encounters which, through transcultural negotiations, reveal implied significations beyond their original scope. Tracing the reception of a "traveling text," Jean-Henri Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques*, in Republican China in the 1920s, Peng Hsiao-yen explains how Lu Xun found in Fabre's descriptions of insect behaviour a parable for human relations and political oppression, thus using this masterpiece of natural history as a weapon of cultural critique.

Later, under the pen of a neo-sensationist writer, it became a source of literary inspiration. Peng points out that, using the science of insect behavior to interpret love between the opposite sexes, the story "ridicules the trend of scientism and modernist pursuits" as embraced by Chinese intellectuals such as Lu Xun. For Peng, the paradox is that the book had been translated by two

Japanese anarchists who considered both Fabre and Darwin as champions of science, despite the fact that Fabre denied the theory of evolution and stuck to the tradition of "natural theology," an opposition neither the Japanese translators, nor Lu Xun and the neo-sensationist writer who ridiculed him, were conscious of. At work here is personal agency, Peng argues: the Japanese chose to translate Fabre's text because it appealed to their cultural tradition which valued ruminations on nature; Fabre's comments on insects were driven by his belief in nature as divine revelation; while Lu Xun's comment on Fabre's work was tainted by his own cultural agenda of anti-feudalism.

If the recourse to Western models as a way to reinvigorate a Chinese society plagued by its tradition is generally taken for granted, such transcultural negotiation has been increasingly questioned over the past decades. Sebastian Hsien-hao Liao problematizes the reception of Western modernity in poetry throughout the twentieth century: in the traumatic context of the encounter with Western power, the all-out effort to "resurrect the nation in a new form" conditioned any possibility of self-regeneration. The Chinese have thus embraced Western modernity as a weapon against their own tradition, and poetry has come to epitomize the cultural revolution of the May Fourth period, due to its "symbolic cultural status," according to Liao. But whereas the evolution of Western modern poetry led to a reinforcement of aesthetic autonomy, the Chinese poets were "compelled by a need to reform traditional culture and by extension to redeem the nation": they "misread" poetic modernity as Romantic poetry, "which both manifests a rebellious spirit and uses a plain language," thus endangering the status of poetry, in Liao's opinion.

The short revival of Modernism in the 1930s was rapidly suppressed since, Liao argues, there was a "suspicion over the subversive nature of Western poetic forms toward the Chinese national form." Liao points out that modernist poetry found a more fertile soil in Taiwan, with the surrealist trend under Japanese occupation, and the triumph of Modernist aesthetics in the 1950s, but in the 1970s, the Modernist school fell under attack by the nationalist- and socialist-oriented Nativists. For Liao, the treacherous fate of modern Chinese poetry is "symptomatic of the unresolved conflicts" between tradition and modernist pursuit, elitism and popular enlightenment, and aesthetic autonomy and political engagement in modern China.

"Ethnic writers" who engage in diasporic writing have received much attention in recent years. In her article about the Amy Tan phenomenon, Ping-chia Feng compares the work of the ethnic writer, who acts as a transcultural mediator between her native Chinese culture and the Western reader, to that of the translator. This connection is all the more relevant as Amy Tan has often "translated" Chinese terms in her works, sometimes mistakenly interpreting

them, and "the markers of authenticity" sometimes end up as "an oriental effect," according to Feng. The position of the "ethnic writer" is delicate, Feng argues, inasmuch as the culture she presents to the foreign reader is also part of herself, but a somehow remote part, involving risks of self-orientalizing or misunderstanding.

Feng points out that Amy Tan often represents and negotiates with Chinese-American ethnicity through the ties, and especially disruptions, between the Chinese immigrant mothers and their American daughters in her novels, and that for the daughters there is always "a conflicting desire for matricide and obsession with the maternal body." For the daughter characters, however resistant they are to their Chinese cultural heritage, "the way to spiritual and physical healings lies on the other side of the Pacific," according to Feng. She analyzes the ghost plots in Amy Tan's works, including "ghost-writing" and "ghost narration" as "recurrent themes of searching for origin and selfhood," with the texts strewn with stories of death and revenge. For Feng, the ghost plots in Tan's novels "effectively bring out the theme of transcultural negotiations," both realistically and symbolically representing the difficulties and possibilities of "crossover communications."

The chapters in this volume demonstrate that the study of modern China through the lens of translation studies inevitably involves a variety of disciplines, as pointed out in the beginning. More than any other area in the huge field of China studies, the culture of twentieth-century China is a hybrid territory which requires exploration with a comparative perspective and against a multiglossic background. Only by complementing the reflection about general concepts of Self and Other, Local and Global, National and Transnational, with works at the micro level, focusing around particular words and notions or the agency of individuals, shall we be able to grasp the movement of ideas in concrete terms. What we are concerned with is not China as an entity as opposed to the West, but individuals with personal agency who in their cultural mediations choose what and how to translate or interpret.

For studies of East-West relations, modern China's relationship with the West is often viewed as periphery versus center, victim versus oppressor (Shih 2001, 3–5). As an alternative stance, our volume goes beyond the periphery/center anxiety and marginality mentality, laying bare the processes through which Chinese intellectuals and writers, as transcultural mediators negotiating with the West, bring about a renewal of tradition or come to terms with the self. While recognizing the imbalance of power relations which plays a key role in East-West encounters, we realize that personal agency is always possible through uneven positions, as maintained by Homi Bhabha when discussing the issues of minorities (Bhabha 1994, 231–5). A transcultural mediator is

not merely a “receptor/transmitter within the network of communication,” as Diana Taylor puts it when discussing a mestiza woman (Taylor 2003, 79–86), but one whose “agency of initiation” leads to creative transformation. The issue of personal agency in the face of transcultural mediation remains to be explored.

Works Cited

Bassnett, Susan and André Lefevere. 1990. “Introduction: Proust’s Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The ‘Cultural Turn’ in Translation Studies.” In *Translation, History, and Culture,* 1–13. London: Pinter Publishers.

Bhabha, Homi. 1994. *Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lee, Leo Ou-fan. 1973. *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Lefevere, André. 1992. *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. London and New York: Routledge.

Shih, Shu-mei. 2001. *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taylor, Diana. 2003. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*. New York: Routledge.

SECTION ONE

Translators and Cultural Actors as Mediators

CHAPTER 1

China-Europe: Transcontinental "Intellectual Cooperation" during the Interwar Period

Françoise Kreissler
Translated by Ian MacCabe

Just after World War I, Sino-European dialogue was still marked by undeniable political and diplomatic tensions which resulted essentially from the new world order set up at the Paris Peace Conference. The Versailles Conference, with regard to the Shandong question, opted for a solution contrary to Chinese expectations. Despite great disappointment, which was essentially expressed by the Chinese delegates refusing to sign the Versailles Treaty in 1919, the Republic of China nevertheless joined the League of Nations from its creation in 1920.

Through the voice of its diplomats, Beijing, as a first step, attempted to persuade its European allies to revise the decisions taken at Versailles, perceived in China as perfectly iniquitous. In parallel, the Chinese diplomats, when speaking at the tribune of the League of Nations, undertook to emphasize the nullity of the "unequal treaties" which continued to govern relations between China and the foreign powers that had become its allies during the course of the world conflict. Notwithstanding energetic interventions on the part of the Chinese delegation at the Versailles Conference and the active participation by the diplomat V.K. Wellington Koo (Gu Weijun 顧維鈞, 1887–1985) and his colleagues at the League of Nations platform all during the 1920s, their efforts did not succeed in obtaining a revision of the treaties, essentially due to the persistent political instability and repeated civil wars that China was suffering at that time, which undeniably weakened its diplomatic effectiveness.

After the coming to power of the KMT at the end of the 1920s, China inflected somewhat its immediate objectives in the matter of foreign policy and abandoned for a while the frontal strategy it had adopted until then at the League of Nations. The Nationalist government opted for a pacific and constructive dialogue with this new international partner and chose to adapt itself to the European dialectic. The support of the League of Nations was not at the level of the Chinese political expectations. This was because the member countries of the international organisation, especially the great powers, found it easy to point out regularly the (from their point of view) rather chaotic

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1163/9789047270220_003

interior situation which predominated in China in order to slow down any attempt to revise the "unequal treaties." On the other hand, as regards "technical cooperation," China cut a figure as a privileged partner of the League of Nations.[1]

Inside the international organisation, "technical cooperation" embodied the whole of the projects and actions outside the normal political sphere destined to make the international partners benefit from the League of Nations' technical assistance. With the aim of putting into concrete form and finalising as best as possible its assistance programmes, the League of Nations equipped itself from the beginning with several commissions to supervise and manage its different domains of activity: economics and finance, transport and transit, health and hygiene, and intellectual cooperation, to which this study is more specifically devoted.

Regarding this latter domain, the action of the League of Nations would rely on the support of two authorities created during the 1920s: the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (I.C.I.C.), set up in 1922, with its headquarters in Geneva, the presidency of which was entrusted to the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941), and on the other hand, its executive instrument, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (I.I.I.C.) created in Paris at the French government's initiative and inaugurated on January 1, 1926. At the end of that same year, France proposed to the League of Nations to invite two Chinese representatives to have a seat on the Committee and in the Institute, China having "the most ancient civilisation in the world," while wishing, at the same time, that these representatives be from the old school:

> an old Chinaman in a robe, not knowing Western languages, but full of philosophy and noble minded, seems to us infinitely preferable, from our point of view, to a young Chinaman in a dinner-jacket talking like us and deformed at times by the West.[2]

1 The earliest research on Sino-European technical cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s was accomplished by Norbert Meienberger (Meienberger 1965). But still, there is no recent global study of this topic. Some biographical accounts were recently published, cf. for example, Maux-Robert, 1999. This same author published a second book about her father's activity after World War II (Maux-Robert 2011).

2 Quoted in Renoliet 1995, 275.

The apprehesions of certain diplomats and European leaders could not be better expressed in the face of the accelerated modernisation of China that some would prefer to see confined to its status as a country with traditions thousands of years old. However, if a good many Westerners still had difficulty in perceiving the evolution and changes that the China of that time was encountering, others would get closely involved alongside these "Chinese deformed by the West" to contribute to the modernisation of China.

In reality, the Sino-European intellectual cooperation started after the installation of the Nationalist government in Nanjing in 1928, to which the Council of the League of Nations proposed the nomination of a "Wu-Shi-Fee" to the I.C.I.C. On the Committee's list, he appears as "a member of the Faculty of the University of Peiyang, Tientsin, and of 'Nanyang College' of Shanghai." In fact, this new member of the I.C.I.C. was none other than the influential Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉 (1865–1953), whose *curriculum vitae* is worthy of some expansion.

Born in 1865, native of Jiangsu 江蘇 province, Wu Zhihui received a traditional Chinese education. After his studies, he began teaching in 1897, at Beiyang University in Tianjin (天津北洋學堂), and in the following year transferred to Nanyang University of Shanghai (南洋公學). He taught there until 1901, but his methods of teaching were judged to be too revolutionary, and he was asked to leave. He left to study in Japan, where he was attracted to the Chinese revolutionary movement. On his return to China, he settled in Shanghai, where he was a contributing editor of the newspaper *Subao* 蘇報 along with Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), before being forced to flee from China following the Subao case in 1903. For a while, he made his home in Great Britain, where in 1905, he met Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866–1925) and joined the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui 同盟會). At the end of the following year, Wu Zhihui went to Paris to find Li Shizeng 李石曾 (1881–1973) whom he had met in 1902 in Shanghai, and with whom he undertook the creation of a weekly, *Xin shiji* 新世紀 (The new century) in 1907. This in fact would become the organ of the group of Chinese anarchists in Paris. After a sojourn in London, he returned to China at the time of the 1911 revolution, but went back to Europe after the failure of the second revolution in 1913. He again returned to China in 1916, upon the death of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916).

With the support of Cai Yuanpei, appointed minister of education following the 1911 Revolution, Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui devoted themselves to Sino-French educational projects (Bastid 1998). From 1924, the year of the KMT Reorganization Congress, Wu Zhihui took up higher official duties, first in the KMT, and then in the Nationalist government. Before then, he had actively

participated in the creation and the management of the Sino-French Institute at Lyon, of which he was the first director in 1921.[3]

This biographical overview supplements, if only succinctly, the brief identification of Wu Zhihui in the documents of the League of Nations and enables the filling out of his portrait, integrating personal dimensions essential to the understanding of his political and historical role in the context of Sino-European networks established during the interwar years. At the same time, this biographical interlude demonstrates how much the analysis of the circumstances and of the contextual situations implies coming to grips as closely as possible with the individual trajectories, knowing that the historical documents and the existing Western works pass over, for the greater part, the Chinese actors involved in "intellectual cooperation."[4]

Our object will therefore be to present, on one hand, the cooperation programs initiated by the League of Nations, and on the other, to try to decrypt, as far as it is possible, the networks and the Chinese actors who played a part in these cooperation programmes. This double reading of the theme suggests an enlarged angle of approach and a plural reading of the actions undertaken and their impact, beyond factual data given by reports from the archives and the documentation accessible today.

Our initial research already enables us to observe that the Sino-European networks, set up within the framework of the League of Nations from the early 1920s, were built around Chinese actors previously very much in place in the European cultural spheres, in some cases since the start of the twentieth century. These few historical reminders allow us to ascertain that most of the Chinese intellectuals involved in the post-World War I period in China-Europe transcontinental cooperation, had a European past, since a number of them had studied or spent time in Europe, and as a result appear as first-class experts on the Western intellectual world and on European culture.

It is thus that we note the presence in Paris of a group of intellectuals, closely tied to the Chinese anarchist movement, who found in France good grounds for experimentation in their educational programmes. Without going into too much detail about the activities to which these intellectuals devoted themselves, let us simply recall that among the major personalities figured Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui, and Cai Yuanpei, as well as others, who for various reasons

3 For the biography of Wu Zhihui, see, among others, Wang 1976 and Müller 2001. For information, documents, and archives of the Sino-French Institute, see Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon (www.bm-lyon.fr).

4 The recent work of Susanne Kuß (Kuß 2005) attempts to remedy this deficiency.

would get involved in the Sino-European "intellectual cooperation" during the 1930s.[5]

Once the political situation in China was partly stabilized, the Sino-European cooperation began, with the nomination in 1930 of Wu Zhihui to the I.C.I.C, of which he would remain a member until 1939.[6]

The year 1931 was undoubtedly a turning point for the contacts and exchanges between China and the League of Nations, a year which would give birth to several Sino-European cultural projects, despite the serious political crisis set off by the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in September, as well as natural disasters which the country suffered that year.

In early 1931, the Nationalist government took the initiative by contacting the League of Nations to call for its help, thus opening the way to Sino-European cooperation which would contribute to accelerating the reconstruction and modernisation of the country. China had been a victim for many years of a permanent civil war, which had obstructed until then any stabilisation or national consolidation. Once the contacts were established between the Chinese government and the secretary-general of the League of Nations (Eric Drummond,

5 While the group gravitating around *The New Century* review was devoted above all to bringing Sino-French relations closer on the basis of educational programmes, other Chinese also settled in several countries of Europe. We note particularly the dynamism of Chinese artistic circles, who during the 1920s participated in numerous exhibitions of Chinese art, often contemporary art, greatly appreciated in the European metropolises. Let us mention Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900–1991), Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953) or Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994), who asserted themselves as true ambassadors of Chinese painting and calligraphy, traveling through the European continent from Paris to Strasbourg, from Frankfort to Berlin, from Leningrad to Moscow, from Amsterdam to Geneva. It is not unimportant to note that many of these artistic exhibitions were sponsored by Cai Yuanpei whose daughter Cai Weilian 蔡威廉 (1904–1940) was at the time a student at the Brussels Academy of Fine Arts before joining that of Lyon (Danzker et al., 2004, 18–68). Among the recent publications on Chinese artists in Europe, see Lefebvre 2011.

6 When his numerous professional obligations stopped him from attending meetings of the I.C.I.C. in Geneva, Wu Zhihui arranged to be replaced either by Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895–1976), at that time professor of English at Beijing University and director of the Foreign Languages department of Academia Sinica, Hu Tianshi 胡天石, future director of the Sino-International Library in Geneva (see below) or Zhang Pengchun 張彭春 (1892–1957), professor of literature at Nankai University in Tianjin, later Chinese ambassador to Turkey and then to Chile, and younger brother of Zhang Boling 張伯苓 (1876–1951), founder of Nankai University in Tianjin (Brochure of the Chinese Delegation n.d.). For the very important part Zhang Pengchun had in the debates on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the late 1940s, see the detailed study of Pierre-Etienne Will (Will 2007). Will's biography of Zhang Pengchun (308–310) erroneously indicates 1897 as his year of birth instead of 1892.

1876–1951), common projects were rapidly set up. We shall dwell more particularly on the projects in the educational and cultural domain, a privileged area of this cooperation during the years 1931–33.

In March 1931, the Chinese Ministry of Education, in the name of the government, contacted the League of Nations, submitting several concrete proposals aimed at intensifying cultural and scientific cooperation with member states. At the same time, Nanjing expressed the wish that Wu Zhihui, already a member of the I.C.I.C., would also become henceforth the mediator between the League of Nations and the Chinese Ministry of Education, a request to which the League of Nations acceded in April.

In that same month of April 1931, the Nanjing government asked the secretary-general of the League of Nations to send to China a committee charged with evaluating the Chinese educational system, which the Nationalist government envisaged reorganising. This step marked the official start of intellectual cooperation between the League of Nations and China.

In May 1931, the League of Nations Council decided to entrust the I.C.I.C. and the I.I.I.C. with the organization of a mission of experts composed of four Europeans, all specialists in education: the German Carl Heinrich Becker (former minister of education of Prussia), the Frenchman Paul Langevin (at that time professor at the Collège de France), the Pole Marian Falski (responsible for primary education at the Polish Ministry of Education), and the Briton Richard Henry Tawney (teacher at the London School of Economics and Political Science and author of *Land and Labour in China* (London, 1932)), the only member of the mission having any experience of China. The mission of experts was accompanied by a representative of the secretary-general of the League of Nations and by Georges Bonnet (1889–1973), director of the I.I.I.C.

On August 30, 1931, the mission of experts embarked for China, arriving at the end of September in the midst of the Manchurian crisis. However, despite the serious political crisis which was shaking China, the group was in a position to carry out its mission, which included meetings and discussions with the leaders of the education and finance ministries, as well as investigations in the field, and visits to schools and universities in urban and rural areas. At the end of their mission, the experts presented to the League of Nations and to the Chinese government a detailed report, published in 1932 under the title *The Reorganisation of Education in China* (Becker et al. 1932).

On the whole, the report was favourably received in Europe as well as in China, even if certain conclusions were sometimes the subject of critical comments, particularly on behalf of the American education specialists who had not been associated with the project, due to the U.S.A. not being a member of the League of Nations. The numerous discussions regarding intellectual

cooperation with China set off by the report, as well as the increasing interest in China that it provoked, show to what extent this initiative was perceived positively. So much so, that only a few months later, Zhu Jiahua 朱家驊 (1893–1963), Chinese minister of education, presented a plan for the reform of education in which he took up certain proposals included in the report by the League of Nations experts, without, however, making any explicit reference to them (Chu 1935).

Finally, the comments and discussions raised by the report within the League of Nations rapidly went beyond the sole framework of the reorganisation of teaching in China. Soon the debates were oriented toward quite a few other issues and were broadened to the global question of relations between East and West, contributing as such to internationalizing the discussions and exchanges of opinion in the matter of intellectual cooperation.

At first sight, we can see that the mission of the experts from the League of Nations allowed China to participate in the international discussion, while at the same time benefiting from European and international assistance and cooperation. As for the League of Nations and its different organisations, they appear from then on to have been a real forum for discussion open to transcontinental exchanges of ideas and opinions.

That same autumn of 1931, and still at the request of the Chinese government, the I.I.I.C. proposed to second three teachers to Nanjing University: a Swiss geologist from the University of Geneva (Edouard Paréjas, 1890–1961), a German geographer from the University of Vienna, (Hermann von Wissmann, 1895–1979), and a specialist in English literature (H.N. Davy) from the University of Nottingham. Besides their responsibility for teaching, during two university years, from 1931 until 1933, the three professors would, in addition, participate in the pedagogic overseeing of the students, as well as different research projects elaborated by their host university.

The European teachers, supported financially by the League of Nations, adapted themselves to the best of their ability to the local teaching conditions. This did not prevent Wissmann, the geographer, from noting that the limited preliminary training of his students, as much in English, the teaching language, as in the domain of their specialty, obliged him to supply all the pedagogic supporting materials and in particular to have the whole of the geographic material reproduced, the students having insufficient financial means to buy an atlas. In addition, the lack of means obliged Wissmann to procure, at his own expense, the works indispensable for his courses. Despite his difficult material working conditions, the geographer from the University of Vienna wrote in a letter from Nanjing on January 31, 1933, to J.D. Montenach, that he was ready to pursue this pedagogic experiment beyond the two university years

originally foreseen, on the condition that he could devote himself to a much greater extent to research (UNESCO). As for Minister Zhu Jiahua, it was in a very positive way that he perceived this experiment, insofar as the European teachers involved themselves in a number of extra-university activities, as he informed a high ranking executive of the League of Nations, Ludwik J. Rajchman, in a letter dated February 17, 1933, from Nanjing:

> I am also very appreciative that their activities have not be (sic) confined to a narrow interpretation of their academic functions. Prof. Parejas has nearly completed a detailed geological map of the environs of Nanjing. He also took part in the recent Roads Conference of the Seven Provinces at Hankow. Both he and Prof. Davy have assisted the National Economic Council in various activities. Prof. Davy is also organising a Students' Advisory Committee for Chinese students studying overseas and he has this year also taught at the Central Political Academy in Nanjing. In the summer months Prof. Wissmann went on an expedition to Shansi and Mongolia, and other institutions are now asking for his collaboration. I also understand that in May Prof. Parejas proposes an expedition to Western China in collaboration with the Geological Survey at Peiping. (UNESCO)

Nineteen thirty-two marked a new stage in Sino-European cooperation with the arrival in Europe of a delegation of Chinese instructors. The program of the mission was established by the I.I.I.C., in agreement with the Chinese instructors and the members of the European mission who had gone to China in 1931. Led by Cheng Qibao 程其保 (1895–1975), graduate of Columbia University in the U.S. and professor at Nanjing University (Zhou 1999, 405), the Chinese mission went to seven European countries (Poland, Germany, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Austria),[7] where it visited typical educational institutions, taking advantage of this trip of almost eight months to establish contacts and exchanges with the representatives of the different ministries of education, teaching administrators, and national committees of intellectual cooperation.

In order to facilitate regular contacts and to ensure the follow-up of future projects, the Chinese party envisaged representation at the League of Nations organisations involved in intellectual cooperation. Consequently, in the spring of 1933, and at the initiative of Wu Zhihui, Cai Yuanpei, and Li Shizeng, China decided to establish in Geneva and Paris a Permanent Chinese Delegation at the international organisations of intellectual cooperation. Presided over by

7 Upon the invitation of the Soviet Union, the Chinese mission also visited the USSR.

Wu Zhihui, the Permanent Delegation appointed as general secretary Chen Hexian 陳和銑 (1893–?), a former student in political science in Paris and member of the delegation of Chinese instructors who had come to Europe in the previous year. China set up a parallel Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, with headquarters established in Shanghai.

From then on, the Republic of China had its own structural foundations which, in turn, would enable it to take the initiative on cultural activities in Europe, with the agreement and support of the League of Nations' organizations. The major achievement of the Permanent Delegation would be the creation in September 1933 in Geneva of a Sino-International Library (*Zhongguo guoji tushuguan* 中國國際圖書館), the management of which was entrusted to Hu Tianshi 胡天石 (1901–?), a former student in Japan and in Germany, and deputy to Wu Zhihui at the I.C.I.C. Besides being in at the beginning of this initiative, Hu Tianshi benefitted also from the support and financial assistance of officials such as Cai Yuanpei, Wu Tiecheng 吳鐵城 (1888–1953), mayor of Shanghai, and Zhang Gongquan 張公權 (1889–1979), director of the Bank of China, as well as members of the Nanjing government like Wang Shijie 王世傑 (1891–1981), at that time minister of education, and H.H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙, 1881–1967), then finance minister. There was also support from Europeans, for example Édouard Herriot, a French politician.

In a short time, the library would be able to put at the disposal of the public and of European and Chinese institutions a Chinese collection of more than two hundred thousand volumes. The presentation brochure published for the inauguration of the library (Bibliothèque sino-internationale, Genève 1934) defined very clearly the objectives of this new institution, proposing:

> not only to provide sinologists with indispensable scientific information, but also, on one hand, to facilitate any Westerner avid to educate himself access to the knowledge of Chinese scientific, literary and artistic works [...]; and on the other, to familiarise, in a sure and rapid manner, the sojourning Chinese aiming to learn in Europe, with all the first class or in some way representative Western works: a miniature China for Europe, a succinct résumé of Europe for the Chinese. (9)

Conceived as a veritable cultural center of the Republic of China in Europe, the library published two multilingual monthlies (*Orient et Occident* 東西文化 and *China Illustrated*), organized Chinese art exhibitions, gave Chinese language courses and prepared to extend further its activities regarding cultural cooperation by creating in March 1934 a branch of the Sino-International Library in Shanghai (日內瓦中國國際圖書館上海分部).

Among the other projects envisaged, and mentioned in the brochure, we find a scientific publishing company and a Sino-International Academy which could respond

> to practical needs of Chinese professors and students staying in Europe, functioning as an office for information, work placement, financial management, settling the administrative side of their affairs and defending their various material or personal interests. (Bibliothèque sino-internationale, Genève 1934, 11)

While awaiting the finalization of these various projects, a Sino-International printing office was created in Geneva which took on the printing of documentation written in Chinese, but planned also to print, for free, university theses written by the Chinese students residing in Europe without financial resources (Bibliothèque sino-internationale 1934, 16).

As for the director of the library, he was also expected to attend international congresses of librarians and those of Orientalists which took place in Europe during the 1930s.

Finally, the Sino-European cooperation progressively widened out to university cooperation, which brought up essential questions regularly debated during the Sino-European University Conferences, organized under the auspices of the International Student Service. The first Conference took place at Oxford in June 1933 and assembled seventy Chinese and European academics working towards bringing Chinese and Western students closer together, with the principal objective being to enable

> young French academics to better grasp the aspects of the intellectual and material life of modern China by collecting the direct testimony of Chinese students who have come to the West and, reciprocally, facilitating for these students the access and the understanding of a civilisation and culture different to their own. (L'entr'aide universitaire 1936, 2)

The second Sino-European University Conference gathered together a hundred or so participants in April 1936 in Brussels, presided over by Wu Kang 吴康 (1897–1976), a former student in philosophy at the Sorbonne and dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Sun Yat-sen University at Canton. In his opening speech he examined the question of the "University in China and in the West." The Conference put the accent on the practical problems encountered by the Chinese students in Europe and proposed "to study the orientation to be given to Chinese students in reconciling the vocation of each one with social

usefulness in China." The exchange of views and discussions between participants resulted in pertinent conclusions, revealing at the same time the difficulties with which the students were confronted in their receiving country, and which the general report on this second Sino-European University Conference emphasizes:

> It is an absolute necessity for Chinese students […] to already have, when leaving their country, a good practical knowledge of the language of the European country in which they will live. They should have devoted at least one year to it, because the success of their studies, rather more theoretical, will depend on this knowledge. (L'entr'aide universitaire 1936, 4–5)

Beyond the problems encountered by the Chinese students during their studies in Europe, these young intellectuals also had to overcome a number of obstacles linked to their new environment which, furthermore, they were advised to approach with caution, this advice not having lost any of its pertinence:

> We shall get to know Western civilisation by establishing numerous connections and friendships favouring conversations about mankind and life, and which will enable the Chinese to understand that the Stock Exchange, the cinema, Limited Companies and dance halls, tramways and civil servants are some aspects, but only some aspects amongst many others of Western civilisation. […] We shall get to know each other by the translation of books, the publication of articles in reviews and in newspapers, the organisation of conferences, etc.… We shall also advise European students to learn the Chinese language. It is in this way that, little by little, we shall get used to getting to know all about one another. (L'entr'aide universitaire 1936, 5–7)

This very succinct presentation of Sino-European projects and achievements in the domain of intellectual cooperation suggests, nevertheless, that from the 1930s a Paris-Geneva-Nanjing-Shanghai axis was taking shape around which the Sino-European dialogue was being built up, and it illustrates how much this intellectual and cultural Sino-European dialogue was, at that time, a reality. These Sino-European achievements, abundantly evoked and commented on, as much in the contemporary press as in the reports and publications of the League of Nations, profited from undeniable visibility. The European actors who, during these years, were, with conviction, involved in this intercultural dialogue with China, also benefited from this attention. On the other

hand, the role of the Chinese actors, for the most part belonging to the intellectual elite of their country, hardly captured the attention of their European contemporaries, who, with their Euro-centered focus only remembered the European component of this transcontinental partnership. Today it is a question of restoring all of its dimensions to this Sino-European dialogue and, to do this, to retrace the trajectories of the actors, Chinese as well as European, in order to underline the role of "*passeur*" played by them between the two wars. However, it is clear that it was the numerous Chinese actors—intellectuals with a European past—who, most certainly in partnership with European intellectuals and League of Nations civil servants, demonstrated an unquestionable dynamism in Sino-European dialogue, which the Sino-Japanese War and World War II brutally interrupted.

Works Cited

Bastid, Marianne. 1998. "Li Shizeng yu zhongfa wenhua guanxi" 李石曾與中法文化關係 (Li Shizeng and Sino-French cultural relations). *Jindai Zhongguo* 近代中国 (Modern China) 126 (Aug.): 169–76.

Becker, C.H., M. Falski, P. Langevin, and R.H. Tawney. 1932. *The Reorganization of Education in China*. Paris: League of Nations, Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon (www.bm-lyon.fr).

Bibliothèque sino-internationale, Genève. 1934. Geneva: Kundig.

[Brochure of the Chinese Delegation at the International Organisations for Intellectual Cooperation]. n.d. Paris: UNESCO Archives. IICI, A.I.135.

Chu, Chia-Hua [Zhu Jiahua] 朱家驊. 1935. *The Reform of Chinese Education in 1932*. Shanghai: China United Press.

Danzker, Jo-Anne Bimie, Ken Lum, and Zheng Shengtian, eds. 2004. *Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945*. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag.

"L'Entr'aide universitaire internationale et la coopération sino-européenne" (International mutual university aid and Chinese-European cooperation). 1936. *Orient et Occident*, July.

Kuß, Susanne. 2005. *Der Völkerbund und China. Technische Kooperation und deutsche Berater 1928–34* (The League of Nations and China: technical cooperation and German advisers). Münster: LIT Verlag.

Lefebvre, Eric, ed. 2011. *Artistes chinois à Paris* (Chinese artists in Paris). Paris: Paris-Musées.

Maux-Robert, Antoinette. 1999. *Le Dragon de l'Est. Henri Maux en mission dans la Chine en guerre, 1937–1939.* (The dragon of the East: Henri Maux on a mission to wartime China, 1937–1939). Marly-le-Roi: Editions Champflour.

———. 2011. *Henri Maux. En mission dans le tumulte asiatique, 1945–1950* (Henri Maux: mission during the Asian tumult, 1945–1950). Cholet: Editions de l'Ouest.

Meienberger, Norbert. 1965. *Entwicklungshilfe unter dem Völkerbund. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der internationalen Zusammenarbeit in der Zwischenkriegszeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der technischen Hilfe an China*. (Development aid under the League of Nations. A contribution to the history of international cooperation in the interwar period with special regard to technical help to China). Winterthur: Keller.

Müller, Gotelind. 2001. *China, Kropotkin und der Anarchismus. Eine Kulturbewegung im China des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts unter dem Einfluß des Westens und japanischer Vorbilder* (China, Kropotkin and anarchism: a cultural movement in early twentieth-century China under the influence of western and Japanese models). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Renoliet, Jean-Jacques. 1995. "L'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1919–1940" (The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation 1919–1940), Ph.D. diss., Université Paris I, UFR d'Histoire.

UNESCO Archives (Paris). IICI, A.I.135.

Wang, Tze-yang, Richard. 1976. "Wu Chih-hui: An Intellectual and Political Biography." Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia.

Will, Pierre-Etienne. 2007. "La Contribution chinoise à la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme" (The Chinese contribution to the Universal declaration of human rights). In Mireille Delmas-Marty and Pierre-Etienne Will, eds., *La Chine et la démocratie* (China and democracy), 297–366. Paris: Fayard.

Zhou, Mian 周棉. 1999. *Zhongguo liuxuesheng dacidian* 中國留學生大辭典 (Dictionary of Chinese students abroad). Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe.

CHAPTER 2

Ba Jin as Translator[1]

Angel Pino
Translated by Ian MacCabe

Foreword

For more than half a century, Ba Jin (巴金 1904–2005) devoted himself to translating: his beginning in the field goes back to 1922, and he persevered in this activity until the end of the 1970s, the greater part of this task having been achieved nevertheless before 1949. While he dealt with a work of fiction to start with, which he himself ended up forgetting about,[2] he concentrated for a long time simply on the political domain. Up until the beginning of the 1930s, his achievements were published under his courtesy name, Li Feigan 李芾甘, and more generally under his only forename of Feigan 芾甘, before having systematic recourse to pseudonyms: Feizi 非子, Heilang 黑浪, Yiqie 一切, Marat 馬拉, Renping 壬平 or Wang Wenhui 王文慧. For his trial run he had chosen the name Peigan 佩竿[3]—close in sound to Feigan—and on another occasion "P.K.," this second denomination being only the reuse of the first one reduced to the initials of one of its romanizations (Pei Kan). It was also to sign a translation that he invented, in November 1928, the pen name under which he entered posterity: Ba Jin (Pino 1990).

---

1 A previous version of this essay was published as "Ba Jin traducteur" in Isabelle Rabut, ed., *Les Belles Infidèles dans l'Empire du milieu: Problématiques et pratiques de la traduction dans le monde chinois moderne* (Paris: You Feng, 2010) and has been significantly revised for this present volume.

2 In "Wo yu Kaiming" 我與開明 (Kaiming and I), (Ba [1986] 1986–94, 666) Ba stated that his first translation was of "Vera" by Leopold Kampf. But later, in the Preface to his two-volume selected translations (Ba 1991) he corrected himself and said it was a work by Garshin, "The Signal." That preface, with the correction, also appears in a volume of his complete works (Ba 1986–94a, 17: 300).

3 Pseudonym that Ba Jin used for his own texts, notably poems, but the use of which he would abandon: he considered it to be too transparent and he no longer liked what he had published under this identity. See Ba [1983] 1986–94.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789047270220_004

Nevertheless, just as he never-endingly repeated that he was not a writer, he never considered himself as a true translator, but rather like someone who, in between other activities, aimed at transposing foreign works into his native tongue (Ba [1991]1986–94, 298–302).

The Authors and the Works Translated

Ba Jin spent an important part of his energy in translating. While his complete works, *Ba Jin quanji* 巴金全集 (Complete works of Ba Jin) (Ba 1986–94a) form twenty-six volumes (a bit less, as half of the last volume is filled by the general index of the publication and by a long chronology about the author and his intellectual production), his complete translated works, *Ba Jin yiwen quanji* 巴金譯文全集 (Complete works translated by Ba Jin) (i.e. the whole of the works translated by him), total no less than ten (Ba 1997).[4] These volumes contain translated texts of fifty-nine authors which appear in different volumes, according to a logic which is not indicated, and which is not immediately obvious (see Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1 *Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin: List of Authors*

Volume	Authors
1	• Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921)
2	• Ivan Turgenev (1818–1883) • Anthology including: Jaakoff Prelooker (1860–1935), Leopold Kampf (1881–?), Sergei Mikhailovich Kravtchinsky (Stepniak; 1851–1895) and Ivan Turgenev
3	• Ivan Turgenev • Isaac Pavlovsky (1878–1924)
4	• Alexander Herzen (1812–1870)
5	• Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) • Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) • Ishikawa Sanshiro (1876–1976)

(*Continued*)

4 Before publication of those ten volumes, a selection of his translated works in two volumes had already been published (Ba 1991) and, under the same title, (*Ba Jin yiwen xuanji* 巴金譯文選集 (Selected translations by Ba Jin)) another selection (Ba 2003) was published on the occasion of his ninety-ninth birthday (his hundredth according to the Chinese way of counting).

TABLE 2.1 (*Continued*)

Volume	Authors
6	• Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin (1855–1888) • Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) • Theodor Storm (1817–1888) • Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958)
7	• Akita Ujaku (1883–1962) • Edmondo De Amicis (1846–1908) • Alexis Tolstoy (1883–1945) • Julio Baghy (1891–1967) • Leopold Kampf • Anthology: Dobri Nemirov (1882–1945), Alexander Kuprin (1870–1938), I.A.L. Bratescu Voinesti (1868–1946), Vasili Eroshenko (1890–1952) • Anthology: A Russian song, a popular Russian song [Dimitri Sadovnikov (1847–1883)], Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), a Decembrist [Alexander Odojewski (1802–1839)], Minakoff (?-?), Yakov Polonsky (1820–1898), Emmanuel des Essarts (1839–1909), Georg Herwegh (1817–1875), Nakahama Tetsu (1897–1926), Albert P. Parsons (1848–1887), an anonymous Russian
8	• Sergei Mikhailovich Kravtchinsky (known as Stepniak) • Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888–1927), Nicolas Sacco (1891–1927), Upton Sinclair (1878–1968), Alice Stone Blackwell (1857–1950) • Rudolf Rocker • Anthology: Helmut Rüdiger (1903–1966), Federica Montseny (1905–1994), Juan García-Oliver (1901–1980), Émilienne Morin (1901–1991), Emma Goldman (1869–1940), Augustin Souchy (1892–1984), Diego Abad de Santillán (1897–1983), Karrill (?–?), Karl Einstein (1885–1940), Hanns-Erich Kaminski (1899–1960) • Augustin Souchy (2 booklets) • Albert Minnig (1911–1968) • A.T. [Alberto Tarchiani (1885–1964)] • Carlo Rosselli (1899–1937)
9	• Alexander Berkman (1870–1936) • Vera Figner (1852–1942) • Peter Kropotkin • Élisée Reclus (1830–1905) • Rudolf Rocker

(*Continued*)

TABLE 2.1 (*Continued*)

Volume	Authors
10	• Peter Kropotkin, Nicolas Lebedev (1880–1934), Louis S. Friedland (?–?), Joseph R. Piroshnikoff (?–?), Kabanov (?–?), an anonymous Argentinian (?–?), Marie Goldsmith (1873–1933)
Number of authors translated: 59	

However, the collection is not exhaustive: albums of prints on the Spanish revolution, by Castelao and by Sim, the captions of which Ba Jin had translated, were omitted, as well as the original Chinese version of the Vanzetti autobiography. Still, these works were inserted in the *Complete Works of Ba Jin* (Ba 1986–94a), whereas others, much shorter, were, deliberately or not, abandoned, even though they were written by authors already included in the collection. It follows then that, in reality, the number of authors translated by Ba Jin rises to a figure of eighty-one and, distributed by nationality, they can be classified into nineteen categories (see Table 2.2).

TABLE 2.2 *Complete List of Authors Translated by Ba Jin, Classified by Nationality*

Nationality	Authors	Number
German	Karl Einstein, Georg Herwegh, Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Rudolf Rocker, Helmut Rüdiger, Augustin Souchy, Theodor Storm	7
American	Alexander Berkman, Louis S. Friedland, Emma Goldman, Albert P. Parsons, Upton Sinclair, Alice Stone Blackwell, *an anonymous author*	7
English	*Stephen Graham* (*1884–1975*)	1
Argentinean	An anonymous author	1
Korean	*Dan Tirinaro* (*1910–1944*)	1
Brazilian	*Jorge Amado* (*1912–2001*)	1
Bulgarian	Dobri Nemirov	1
Spanish	Diego Abad de Santillán, *Castelao* (*1886–1950*), Juan García-Oliver, Federica Montseny, *Sim* (*José Luis Rey Vila, 1910–1983*); *an anonymous author*	6

(*Continued*)

TABLE 2.2 (*Continued*)

Nationality	Authors	Number
French	*Albert Doyen* (*1882–1935*), Emmanuel des Essarts, Émilienne Morin, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (*1809–1865*), Élisée Reclus, *Émile Zola* (*1840–1902*)	6
Georgian	*Egnate Ninoshvili* (*1859–1894*)	1
Dutch	*Johanna van Woude* (*1853–1904*)	1
Hungarian	Julio Baghy	1
Irish	Oscar Wilde	1
Italian	Edmondo De Amicis, *Errico Malatesta* (*1853–1932*), Nicolas Sacco, Carlo Rosselli, Alberto Tarchiani, Bartolomeo Vanzetti	6
Japanese	Akita Ujaku, *Furuta Daijirô* (*1900–1925*), Ishikawa Sanshiro, Nakahama Tetsu, *Japanese Society of the Tokyo Workers' Movement*; *an anonymous author*	6
Polish	Leopold Kampf, *Janusz Korczak* (*Henrik Goldszmit; 1879–1942*)	2
Rumanian	Ioan Alexandru Bratescu Voinesti	1
Russian	*Alexandra* (*?–?*), *Fyodor Dostoyevsky* (*1821–1881*), Vasili Eroshenko, Vera Figner, Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin, Marie Goldsmith, Maxim Gorky, Alexander Herzen, Kabanov, Peter Kropotkin, Sergei Mikhailovich Kravtchinsky (known as Stepniak), Alexander Kuprin, Nicolas Lebedev, Minakoff, Alexander Odojewski, Isaac Pavlovsky, Joseph R. Piroshnikoff, Yakov Polonsky, Alexander Pushkin, Jaakoff Prelooker, Dimitri Sadovnikov, *Angelo Salomon Rappaport* (*1871–1950*), *Isaak Steinberg* (*1888–1957*), Alexis Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev, Leon Trotsky; two anonymous authors	28
Swiss	Albert Minnig	1
Unknown	*Aliz* (*?–?*); Karrill (?–?)	2
19		81

Notes:

- In italics: the names of authors whose works were not retained for the *Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin*
- The *Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin* do not include all the works of the authors chosen.

This second table calls for three observations:

1. Not all the authors are to be put on the same level. From Herwegh, Parsons, Polonsky or Dan Tirinaro, Ba Jin has rendered only one poem, and from Kuprin or Eroshenko only a short story, whereas he has translated whole books by Herzen, Kropotkin or Turgenev. And some pages—the preface by Marie Goldsmith to *Ethics* by Kropotkin, or the parts annexed to the autobiography of Vanzetti, by Alice Stone Blackwell and Upton Sinclair—were included only as paratexts.
2. The nationality of the authors can be misleading. Rocker was born in Germany, Sacco and Vanzetti in Italy, and Berkmann and Goldman in Lithuania, but all of them had chosen exile. The Russian Prelooker had settled when very young in England, just like his compatriot Marie Goldsmith in France. As for the German Storm, he was a native of Husum, a small town of Schleswig which was a Danish possession the day he was born.
3. Besides the anonymous authors, two could not be identified: Karrill, a fighter in the Spanish revolution, and especially Aliz. No anarchist, at least among the most celebrated, carries such a name. A Japanese Bajinologist, Higuchi Susume 樋口進, keeping only to the Chinese transcription of this name, has expressed two hypotheses which have never been validated (Higuchi 1986, 264). First, 'Aliz' was a pseudonym for Paul Eltzbacher (1868–1928), a German university scholar who had written a summa on anarchism (Eltzbacher 1923) much appreciated by anarchists.[5] Second, he was Élisée Reclus (1830–1905), the great libertarian geographer. The assumption concerning the latter is all the less convincing in that Reclus had a well-known Chinese name, Shaokelü, that we come across precisely in the Chinese version of one of the articles of… Aliz (Aliz 1928, 61, 64). If we trust the opinion of Lu Jianbo 盧劍波 (1904–1991), a close friend of Ba Jin, Aliz was a Parisian professor, but unfortunately Lu provides no other details about him (Müller 2001, 588, 603), and we are not even sure that the spelling of his name is correct. Of a third author, the Russian Alexandra, we know nothing either, but perhaps her collection of letters is apocryphal, as the anonymous French translator on whose work Ba Jin relied leaves it to be assumed (Alexandra 1880, 5–6). Finally, we were are not sure that the authors named Graham

5 We can thus read in the American anarchist review *The Blast*, this mention, regarding a book which it distributes: "A clear-cut, impartial analysis of the various Anarchist theories by a scientific investigator" (*The Blast* 1, no. 19 (September 15, 1916): 8).

or Doyen (in Ba Jin's translations) are Stephen Graham and Albert Doyen, for want of having at hand their texts.

Subject to a more complete inventory, we have checked 199 references, knowing that certain works were prepublished in reviews before being reprinted in volume, and are therefore counted twice; and that the revised editions were integrated in this total (on the contrary, the reprints, although reported, are not counted).

The list of authors and their works presents several characteristics:

1. The authors are essentially anarchist authors—Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Berkman, Malatesta—or authors regarded by the anarchists as being close to them: Herzen, Turgenev and Stepniak, and even Oscar Wilde (Nettlau [1897] 1978). Otherwise, the translated works nevertheless maintain more or less slender links with the libertarian constellation.

2. Both major authors and those of lesser importance, if not totally unknown, are included. Ba Jin expresses an undifferentiated admiration towards Kropotkin, Herzen and Turgenev, and towards Leopold Kampf and the mysterious Alexandra.

3. Ba Jin had a marked interest in the Russian Revolution, to be taken here in its widest sense, according to the definition of the anarchist Volin, as "the entire revolutionary movement, from the revolt of the Decembrists (1825)" (Volin 1974, 17). This attraction, also detectable in his own writings, not only historical-theoretical but also fictional,[6] embodies pell-mell the Decembrists, the populists, the nihilists, and the revolutionary-socialists, and Ba Jin did not hide his fascination for those among them—notably the women—who sacrificed their lives for the cause, even to the extent of becoming what Camus calls in *The Rebel* "delicate murderers," in trying to finish with the old world by fire and sword.[7] The anthology compiled by him in 1940, under the title *Pannizhe zhi ge* 叛逆者之歌 (Rebellious songs), is a good illustration of this taste: to "Pushkin's Message" and its reply—which Ba Jin visibly ignores is from Alexander Odojewski—are added the poems of Polonsky, in praise of Sophia

6 See Ba [1935b] 1986–94.

7 See Feigan 1929b (later published in Ba 1986–94a, 21:1–257); F. Li 1930 (later published in Ba 1986–94a, 21: 259–514). The first work brushes the portraits of Demetrius Lisogub, Valerian Ossinsky, Hypolyte Muishkin, Peter Petrovitch Schmidt and Grigouri Guerchouni; the second, those of Vera Zassoulitch, Sophia Bardina, Vera Figner, Sofia Perovskaïa, Ludmila Aleksandrovna Volkenstein, Ekaterina Constantinovna Brechkovskaïa, Zinaida Konoplianni-kova, Maria Alexandrovna Spiridonova and Irina Kakhovskaïa.

Bardina and of Minakoff, and a condemned prisoner's address to her judge. However, in a more significant way, the populists hold a place of honour here with Herzen; the nihilists with Turgenev and his novel *Fathers and Sons* (it is the publication of this book, in 1862, which contributed to spreading the term "nihilism") or *Virgin Soil*, with Stepniak and his *Underground Russia*, with Kampf and his play *On the Eve*, or with Prelooker, whose short story tells the tale of one of these sham marriages conceived by nihilists as a solution for the emancipation of women; and the revolutionary socialists with Vera Figner and with Steinberg, without forgetting Rappaport, and his account of the student Vanya.

The October revolution and before that, the one of 1905, inspired him less, except to condemn the Bolshevik drifts, as we see from some of his translations of Emma Goldman or of Berkman.

4. Whereas all the literary genres are represented, Ba Jin had a predilection for the autobiography. After all, when he was only thirty, he himself had published his own (Ba 1934a)[8] (but Shen Congwen, two years younger, did likewise at the same time) (Shen 1934). To the memoirs of Kropotkin and of Berkman, he had in mind to adjoin those of seven other personalities: Savinkov, Emma Goldman, Vera Figner, Guerchouni, Irina Kakhovskaïa, Lefrançais and Jean Grave,[9] a project that remained a dead letter, if we except the memoirs of Figner[10] and the pages of the intimate account of Irina Kakhovskaïa already published (F. Li 1930, 497–514). On the other hand, Ba Jin translated *The Story of a Proletarian Life* by Vanzetti, as well as the memoirs of Herzen.

5. The last genre privileged by Ba Jin in his choice of texts to be translated is drama. The fact deserves to be all the more emphasized as it is the only literary genre at which Ba Jin had never tried his hand. He translated several plays: *The Flowers of Passers-by* by the Italian E. Amicis (one of Vanzetti's favourite writers); *Danton's Death*, by the Russian A. Tolstoy; *Skeleton Dance, Night at*

8 The title "Autobiography" was imposed on the author by the publisher; the author himself had entitled his text: *Pianduan de huiyi* 片斷的回憶 (Fragmentary recollection).

9 Ba [1935d] 1986–94. This text accompanied an extract from *Prison Memoirs of An Anarchist* by Berkman. The works that Ba Jin had in mind to publish were probably the following: Boris Savinkov (1879–1925), *Memoirs of A Terrorist*, trans. Joseph Shaplen (1931); Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (1931); Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist: Authorised Translation from the Russian* (1927); Grigouri Gerchouni (1870–1908), *Dans les cachots de Nicolas II* (1902); Irina Konstantinovna Kakhovskaïa (1888–1960), *Souvenirs d'une révolutionnaire*., trans. Marcel Livane & Joe Newman (1926); Gustave Lefrançais (1826–1901), *Souvenirs d'un révolutionnaire* (1902); and Jean Grave (1854–1939), *Le Mouvement libertaire sous la 3e République* (1930).

10 As well as a chapter of the Goldman memoirs, reproduced in annex to those of Berkman.

the Frontiers and *Shudra's Fountain*, by the Japanese Akita Ujaku; and *On the Eve*, by the Pole Kampf. Furthermore, he translated the section reserved by Emma Goldman in her book, *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama*, to the Scandinavian theatre, that of Ibsen and Strindberg.

6. Most of the translations by Ba Jin reflect his theoretical writings. It is true for those which deal with the Russian revolutionary movement, but it is equally true for those dealing with other subjects, like the French Revolution or the martyrs of Chicago. *Rebellious Songs* includes documents having to do with the Russian Revolution, but the volume contains also poems of Parsons, Herwegh or Emmanuel des Essarts.

7. Ba Jin translated mainly authors of the past, even classics, and among his contemporaries, it appears that he was in direct contact with only five of them: Emma Goldman, Rocker, Vanzetti, and Abad de Santillán, all with whom he corresponded, and Berkman, whom he met in France. The rare texts on current events published by him are texts related to the Sacco and Vanzetti affair and, ten years later, to the Spanish Revolution. These latter texts were gathered in a collection created for them at the Pingming Bookstore, in Shanghai, the "Little collection on the Spanish Question," after some of them had been published, in the *Fenghuo* 烽火 (Beacons) review which Ba Jin ran with Mao Dun (1896–1981). The most important ones were by nationals foreign to Spain, almost all being anarchists: next to the compilation of tributes paid to Durruti (1896–1936) when he died, we find two booklets, one from the Swiss Albert Minnig and the other from the German Rocker, two brochures from the German Augustin Souchy, and the diary of the Italian Carlo Rosselli. And to finish off, Ba Jin published the volumes of prints by Castelao and by Sim, already mentioned, as well as an album of photos, the captions of which he translated.

Ba Jin and His Mastering of Foreign Languages

Ba Jin translated authors of diverse languages. But exactly which ones did he master?

Apart from his native tongue, Ba Jin had access to English, a language he had wanted to learn since September 1918 by following an after-school course for youth (*buxi xuexiao* 補習學校 (supplementary school)) at Chengdu. It was, however, as an autodidact that he had to familiarise himself with it at first: health problems kept him away from the classrooms for two years, and he worked at home until August 1920, when he joined the Chengdu School of Languages—just like the character in *Jia* 家 (The family), who is a copy of Ba Jin himself. He stayed there some two and a half years. Ba Jin also started to

learn French at the Alliance Française of Paris,[11] during his first stay in France, but not for more than a month: unable to pay for his studies, he promptly ceased "to learn seriously the language (Ba 1971). " He was already initiated in it before leaving China (Lang 1967, 246) but without our knowing up to what level: in any case he certified that he was not very good at this language, despite nearly two years spent in the country (Ba [1958b] 1986–94, 524). Above all, Ba Jin knew, and undoubtedly rather well, Esperanto, which fitted fully with the internationalist (or a-nationalist) opinions of the anarchist he was.[12] He had discovered the language invented by Zamenhof in 1918 when reading an article in *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (New youth), and he immediately started learning it: "I have learned many languages in my life and comparatively it is Esperanto which is the easiest, it can be learned by oneself if only one goes to the trouble to do so. Once you have learned it, even if you don't practice it for several years, it comes back to you as soon as you start on it again."[13] Ba Jin, a convinced Esperantist until the end of his life, devoted diverse texts to the question, among which were two long studies on Esperantophone literature.[14] During the Cultural Revolution, he found in Esperanto a means of consolation for the difficulties of the time (Ba [1980a] 1986–94, 225), like Luo Dagang 羅大岡 (1909–1998) with French (Lo 1987, 12).

English and Esperanto were Ba Jin's two languages of communication when he corresponded with a non-Chinese interlocutor.[15] He even composed two works directly in Esperanto.[16] In French, we possess only one letter of his, which was sent in March 1949 to the Commission of International Anarchist Relations:[17] whereas Father Monsterleet (1912–2001) wrote in French to Ba Jin within their epistolary exchange, the novelist replied in Chinese.[18] But quite likely it is also in French that Ba Jin wrote to Marcelo Salinas (1889–1976) and

11 His dossier has not been preserved (letter from l'Alliance française to Angel Pino, September [16], 1992).

12 On the proximity of Esperanto with anarchism in China, see Müller and Benton 2006a and 2006b.

13 Quoted by Lao Bai (Lao 1979).

14 See Xu 1995.

15 Some of these letters are reproduced in Ba 2003 and Xu 1995.

16 "En la malluma nokto" (1928) and "Mia frateto" (1933), in Xu 1995, 6–10, 48–51.

17 Letter from Li Pei Kan [Ba Jin] to the Commission of International Anarchist Relations, March 18 1949 (Ba 2003, 46–7).

18 Letter from Jean Monsterleet to Angel Pino, December 13, 2000. For the correspondence between the two men, see Pino forthcoming. The letters to Monsterleet mentioned further on are reproduced in their entirety in this work.

to Cuban anarchists of Havana,[19] or to authorities of the French Anarchist Federation.[20]

Ba Jin knew other languages, as he declared one day to Rudolf Rocker. In a letter dated December 28, 1948, in English, he confided to the addressee the pleasure he took in reading his book published in Castilian, *La Juventud de un Rebelde* (Rocker 1947) and added: "I also read Spanish, Italian, French and Russian" (Ba 2003, 33). And one of his numerous missives, this one dated March 9, 1949, to Agnes Inglis (1872–1952)—militant anarchist and librarian in charge of the Labadie collection, a rich stock on themes which impassioned the then young Ba Jin (the Haymarket tragedy or the Sacco and Vanzetti affair)—reveals to us that, not content with reading it, he translated "in Italian" [*sic*], for their Chinese edition, the Spanish captions of the albums of engravings on the Spanish Revolution (Ba 2003, 17).[21] As for Russian, he was probably not very advanced, as he announces in a September 18, 1950, letter to Agnes Inglis, hardly a few months after the one addressed to Rocker, that he has just started to learn it in order "to read new books" (23), and he recognizes, in a volume of Gorky short stories which he is getting ready to publish at the same time, that he is capable of deciphering only word by word, and by groping his way as he goes along (Ba [1950] 1986–94).

Strangely enough, Ba Jin did not inform Rocker, whose native language it was, that he also understood German: he had studied it in France, at Château-Thierry, he mentions in a letter dated June 30, 1948, to Jean Monsterleet (Pino forthcoming). His level must have been too elementary, even if it was enough to enable him to read August Spies's original letter of farewell to Nina Van Zandt,[22] as he states when writing, once more, on May 7, 1949, to Agnes Inglis (Ba 2003, 19), or to translate Storm's short stories at a period when he admits not being very familiar with this language (Ba [1943a] 1986–94). Finally, in his

19 That is what Marcelo Salinas told Avrich on December 22, 1972 (Avrich 2005, 398).

20 See Fontenis 1990, 291.

21 We also know of a letter in Italian addressed by Ba Jin to Ugo Fedeli (1898–1964), the secretary of the Italian Anarchist Federation, but it is a typed copy and nothing asserts that it is not a subsequent translation (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Fedeli Papers, postbox 133, dated September 25, 1950).

22 August Spies (1855–1887), who was born in Germany but had emigrated to America in 1872, was implicated in the Haymarket affair, and hanged. Nina Van Zandt (1862–1887), who by proxy became his wife, published the autobiography that the former had left behind. Agnes Inglis supplied Ba Jin several documents about them, of which one was this farewell letter. Ba Jin, who had already written about the Chicago martyrs, intended to write a book on them (letter from Li Pei Kan [Ba Jin] to Agnes Inglis, February 6, 1949) (Ba 2003, 15).

September 18, 1950, letter to Agnes Inglis, where he declares that he is doing exercises in Russian, Ba Jin adds that he is tackling Yiddish, and for the same motive: multiplying his reading (Ba 2003, 23). He requests Rudolf Rocker in his letter of February 28, 1950 to find him some books in Yiddish, including a manual of grammar (36). According to his September 18,1950, letter to another anarchist, Boris Yelensky (1899–1974)—a Russian exile in Chicago, the secretary of the Free Society Group—it was finally Yelensky who obtained the desired work for him (44).

And Japanese? Did Ba Jin, who made several trips to Japan and even dwelt there, know Japanese? We can wager that at the least he could decipher it: he had benefited from the experience of his friend Wei Huilin 衛惠林.[23] In a letter dated March 3, 1928, to the aged Max Nettlau (1865–1944), regarding Kropotkin, he cites extracts drawn from original Japanese works, once even specifying: "I translate from Japanese" (Ba 2003, 28). He established a detailed account of the Japanese version of Kropotkin's *Ethics* carried out by Hatta Shūzō 八太舟三 (Feigan [1929a] 1986–94).[24] The fact is, nevertheless, that it is from Esperanto that he translated the play of Akita Ujaku 秋田雨雀, or "Love," a popular tale. The other Japanese texts not being referenced, it is impossible to say from which language they were translated.

In any case, Ba Jin cannot be taken for a Chinese Armand Robin (1912–1961), that anarchist poet whose surprising gift for languages enabled him to translate directly—or "not to translate," to use his terms—Russian, Chinese or even Breton authors: "I admit," Ba wrote, "I have no thorough knowledge of any foreign language, my knowledge is only superficial" (Ba [1991] 1986–94, 298).

Consequently, he often started off from English, first of all for the Oscar Wilde tales, or the works of Berkman or Emma Goldman. He also translated directly, this time from German, the short stories by Storm, which were as many concrete exercises for him to train in the German language (Ba [1943a] 1986–94).

But English served him above all as an intermediary, as for example when translating Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts*: in spite of referring to the original version included in the complete works of the writer published in Moscow in 1956, he confesses to having rather followed the edition established by Constance Garnett (1861–1946)—who translated so many Russian classics—in London in the 1920s (Ba [1977] 1986–94, 283). It is the same for *Virgin*

23 Wei Huilin (1900–1992), who had come to France with Ba Jin, had studied anthropology at Waseda University in Tokyo.

24 Hatta Shūzō (1886–1934), Japanese anarchist, translated different works of Kropotkin. His version of *Ethics* was published in 1925. See Le Libertaire Group 1979, 25.

Soil, a novel for which Ba Jin relied on two English versions,[25] and *Mumu*, by Turgenev (Ba [1951a] 1986–94, 274). Although he says that he had translated from Russian two of the short stories by Garshin which appear in *Laihama he meiguihua* 癩蝦蟆和玫瑰花 (The toad and the rose)—"Attalea Princeps" and "That Which Was Not"—he specifies at once that he used simultaneously the English versions (Ba [1951b] 1986–94, 273). It appears that the only time that Ba Jin used Russian exclusively to render a text into Chinese was to translate "The Threshold" by Turgenev (Ba [1935c] 1986–94, 164), and also to translate "Because of Monotony" by Gorky, but he had already previously rendered a version of this text from English as we shall see further on.

He also used as an intermediary language, Esperanto—for translating Ninoshvili, De Amicis, Alexis Tolstoy, Bratescu Voinesti, Nemirov (the novel by Baghy and the poem by Dan Tirinaro had been written directly in this language)—and French, for translating Gorky's memoirs, Trotsky's text on Tolstoy and the works of Kampf.

When the occasion arose, Ba Jin confronted the versions in different languages at his disposal. For *The Conquest of Bread* by Kropotkin, written in Russian, he examined two Japanese versions as well as the English, French and German versions (Feigan [1926b] 1986–94, 94; Ba [1940a] 1986–94, 204); for *Ethics*, by the same author, the English, French, German, Japanese and Spanish versions, as well as the Esperanto version (Ba [1940b] 1986–94, 223); as for Kropotkin's autobiography, he consulted the English, French and Japanese versions (Ba 1986–94b, 133) (after that he obtained two more editions in English, a German version and a Dutch one) (Ba [1939] 1986–94, 198–9) and the versions in Esperanto and in Japanese for his essay on "Anarchism and Syndicalism" (Heilang 1928).[26] For "Science and Anarchism" by Malatesta and *Underground Russia* by Stepniak, an essay and a book published in Italian, Ba Jin translated respectively via French and Spanish (Feigan 1926a),[27] and via Japanese, Spanish, English and French (Ba [1936a] 1986–94, 175).[28]

---

25 Ba [1943b] 1986–94). He also relied on the extract translated in Chinese from the German by Guo Dingtang 郭鼎堂, which had been published in *Xin Shidai* 新時代 (New era) (Ba [1944] 1986–94).

26 See also the introductory lines which appear in Ba 1986–94a, 17: 99.

27 See also the introductory lines which appear in Ba 1986–94a, 17: 97.

28 The original version by Stepniak, prefaced by Lavroff, was published in Milan, in 1882, under the title *La Russia sotterranea: profili e bozzetti rivoluzionari dal vero di Stepniak già direttore di Zemlia e Volia* (*Terra e Libertà*).

Material Access to Works for Translation

While Ba Jin had the linguistic means to access foreign literature, it remains to be seen how he got the materials to translate.

Having lived a long time in Shanghai, the most cosmopolitan Chinese metropolis next to Hong Kong, where one could find specialised bookshops, Ba Jin, we can imagine, had too much to choose from. However, since many works translated by him did not enjoy a large audience in their country of origin, it is likely that their circulation in China was even more limited. This obliged Ba Jin to obtain supplies through other means, three of which we can identify:

1. First of all, he acquired works through his trips abroad: it was in Paris where he dug out the play by Leopold Kampf, *On the Eve* (Ba [1937c] 1986–1994), and in Tokyo, in 1935, that he came across the second volume of Bakunin's biography by Polonsky, and three of the four tomes of the biography of the Russian revolutionary by Steklov (P. Li [1948] 1949).[29]
2. Then there are the works that he asked his correspondents throughout the world to send him or buy for him, as in the letters which we have already mentioned: Berkman, Rudolf Rocker,[30] Agnes Inglis or Lilian Wolfe (1875–1974), who kept the bookshop of the review *Freedom* in London.[31] In his February 6, 1947 letter to Jean Monsterleet, Ba Jin sent Monsterleet to the Parisian office of *Le Libertaire,* where the churchman must have never before set foot, to find a small biography of Bakunin.[32]
3. Finally there are the publications he received, as exchanges, from anarchist organisations with which he was in contact. He had contacts everywhere: in England, with Thomas Henry Keell (1866–1935), who was running the review *Freedom*[33] (the links built with the editors around 1926 continued until

29 French version, see Renof 1981, 10.

30 Ba Jin corresponded with Rocker from 1948 to 1950 (seven letters survive from this period; see Ba 2003, 31–8. But we know of an epistolary exchange between them well before then which must date back to 1927 (letter from Li Yoo Tong [*sic*] [Ba Jin] to Emma Goldman, July 5, 1927) (Ba 2003, 10).

31 We know of it by a letter from Ba Jin to Jean Monsterleet of January 15, 1950 (Pino forthcoming).

32 Here Ba Jin ordered from his correspondent six works. He would have recourse to Father Monsterleet's good offices again several times (Pino Forthcoming).

33 Letter from Li-Pei-Kan [Ba Jin] to T.H. Keell, July 8, 1926 (Ba 2003, 11). Numerous customs dockets preserved at the International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam, in the Keell papers, attest the exchanges between the two men. The review *Freedom*, founded by Peter Kropotkin, in London in 1886, is still published. See *Freedom* 1986.

1949);[34] in France, with the Anarchist Federation (Fontenis 1990, 291); in Cuba, with the review *Solidaridad* of Havana;[35] in the United States, with his friend Ray Jones (1892–1972), who had founded with him the review *Pingdeng* 平等 (Equality), a magazine in Chinese published in San Francisco; and the review *Delo Trouda*;[36] in Argentina, with Diego Abad de Santillán.[37] He was in touch with the Rumanian libertarians Joseph Ishill (1888–1966) and Eugene Relgis (1895–1987), one of whom lived in the United States, the other in Uruguay,[38] and with the anarchist from Geneva, Carlo Frigerio (1878–1966); the International Centre for Research on Anarchism (CIRA) of Lausanne preserves a copy of the Chinese version of *Words of a Rebel* by Kropotkin dedicated by Ba Jin (Li Pei Kan) to his "caro compagno" (Kelupaotejin 1948; CIRA, Lausanne; cote: Ac 004).[39] Perhaps he also was in communication with the propaganda services of the Spanish CNT-FAI, several publications of which he translated.

As for the channels through which Ba Jin had come to know of the works he translated, we can only guess. He could have proceeded by way of arborescence: we note for instance that Herzen, Turgenev or Stepniak are highly praised in the memoirs of Kropotkin translated by him.[40] On the other hand, we know from a July 4, 1934, letter to Emma Goldman (Ba [1934b] 1986–94, 5) that, thanks to her, Ba Jin discovered a text on which he had set his heart, "The Threshold," a Turgenev prose poem dedicated to a Russian terrorist, and it was Thomas Keell who lent him Prelooker's work from which he made an extract

34 In 1948, the review *Freedom* informs its readers of news coming from "our old comrade Li Pey Kan," which is reproduced in *Delo Trouda* 31(December 1949): 28; French version, see Renof 1981, 10, no. 2.

35 See the 1948 letter from Li Pei Kan [Ba Jin] to Rudolf Rocker (Ba 2003, 33). It is probably about the review whose sub-title was "*Portavoz del movimiento antifascista y libertario de Cuba*"(1944?–1948?).

36 We know of three documents from him on this subject: Letters from Li Pey Kan [Ba Jin] to *Delo Trouda*, January 23, March 27, and May 11, 1949 (*Delo Trouda* 31 (December 1949): 28); French version by Israël Renof (Renof 1981, 9–10).

37 See the letter from Li Pei Kan [Ba Jin] to Rudolf Rocker, August 24, 1950 (Ba 2003, 38). Elsewhere, Ba Jin also mentions a note addressed to him by Abad de Santillán in 1928: see Ba [1936b] 1986–94, 380.

38 Letter from Li Pei Kan [Ba Jin] to Joseph Ishill, April 12, 1949 (Ba 2003, 25–6).

39 See also the letter from Li Pei Kan [Ba Jin] to Agnes Inglis, February 14, 1949 (Ba 2003, 16).

40 See also Kropotkin 1905.

(Ba [1936e] 1986–94), and again Keell who procured for him the English version of Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts* (Tang and Zhang 1989, 166).

Why Translate?

The involvement of Ba Jin in translation work was not uncommon. Translating was a usual practice of intellectuals of the May Fourth generation, or their direct precursors, among whom Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936)[41] was worshipped by Ba Jin. Whether it be at the Literary Research Association (Wenxue yanjiu hui 文學研究會) or the Creation Society (Chuangzao she 創造社), to mention only the two most important literary groups, there was no shortage of translators of foreign literature, whatever the Western aesthetic type they embraced, and they considered this task to be fundamental.

Ba Jin was above all a practitioner of translation, not a theoretician. On the art of translating, from his writings, we can just mention the polemic exchanges which opposed him to Wang Liaoyi 王了一 (1900–1986), the translator of Zola, relative to the way the latter had rendered in Chinese the titles of *L'Assommoir* and of *Germinal*.[42] He dwelt somewhat longer on the subject only in the preface of his selected translations in two volumes, already cited, but of quite late appearance, since it was only published in 1990 (Ba [1991] 1986–94). Moreover, it was only a retrospective judgement on strictly personal activities to which he had put an end long ago, and a rather severe judgement, as customary with Ba Jin, perpetually inclined towards self-denigration:

> I am not satisfied with my translations. Often I have qualified them as "translation exercises" because generally they do not fulfil the conditions that we have the right to expect of a translation: fidelity, fluidity, elegance. [...] They are not good translations ... (Ba [1991] 1986–94, 299)[43]

Be that as it may, retranslating more often than he translated, and from languages which he did not necessarily handle confidently, Ba Jin was not guarded from making blunders: a Germanist, checking his version of Kropotkin's *Ethics*, pinned down his deficiencies in German, which Ba Jin readily admitted (Feigan [1929c] 1986–94).

---

41 About Lu Xun as a translator, see Lundberg 1993.

42 The two texts have the same title: see Yuyi [1934a] 1986–94 and Yuyi [1935] 1986–94.

43 Fidelity (*xin* 信), fluidity (*da* 達), elegance (*ya* 雅): we recognize here the three cardinal principles of the theory of translation by Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921).

Nevertheless, Ba Jin was a scrupulous translator: when he had recourse to several translations of the same work, it was indeed to make up for his eventual linguistic lacunae, but also to track, in the absence of the original work, the variants, the additions and other eventual ablations. It was a technique perfectly adequate for the writings of Kropotkin, the anarchist prince revising his prose edition after edition.

He was also a conscientious translator, ready to take his version back to the work-table. Thus his version of Vanzetti's autobiography, translated in 1927 and printed in 1928, was followed by a second version in 1935, since he considered that he had not given "great care" to the previous one. He did the same for Kropotkin's *Ethics* and for other of his translations when republished.

The most eloquent proof of such seriousness is the work accomplished by Ba Jin on Gorky. When in 1950, he takes up again his twenty-year-old translations, he drops completely his initial version of "Makar Chudra" in order to elaborate a brand new one, and he regrets not being able to present a better one for "Because of Monotony," which is based on two English versions partly contradictory: if he can, from now on, refer to the Russian text, his competence in this language does not, however, enable him to capture the tone of the author, but he promises to establish another one "in two or three years time," as soon as his linguistic level is improved (Ba [1950] 1986–94). This took place in 1956, in the selection of works by Gorky which included Ba Jin's translations and those of Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 (1899–1935).

Better still, he made it his duty to translate works for which a Chinese edition already existed before his time, when he considered that it was not sufficiently worthy of the original: of *On the Eve*, by Leopold Kampf (Ba [1937c] 1986–94), already translated by Li Shizeng 李石曾 (Li Yuying 李煜瀛, 1881–1973) (Liao [1908] 1928), Ba Jin proposes two versions of his own making, and a new one for *An Appeal to the Young*, by Kropotkin. It is true that these two texts were close to his heart.

In apologising for the imperfection of his translations, Ba Jin advances a second explanation which at the same time enlightens us on the reason he engaged in this practice: "Abandoning the style and spirit of the original text, I retain only what belongs to me in my own right" (Ba [1991] 1986–94, 299). For Ba Jin, who considers writing as a battle "against feudalism, tyranny, oppression, and superstition" and his pen as a weapon, the pen of the authors he adulates, and whom he assimilates as "masters in martial arts," serves him as a second weapon:

> If I have published works of my foreign predecessors, it is also to express myself through the mouth of another. And it is the reason why I only present texts that I like. [...] When I like a work, I want to better under-

> stand it, in further depth. I often recite it several times; I meditate on it endlessly, and in accordance with the understanding I have of it, I restore with my pen the thoughts and feelings of the author. When someone else's text has touched me, I want in turn with my translation to touch an even greater number of people. It goes without saying that my efforts never attain the level of the original work. All I hope for is to transform into a weapon the works of others. (298)

In the postscript to his partial Chinese version of *The Signification of the Modern Theatre* by Emma Goldman, Ba Jin wrote "My opinion on Ibsen coincides with hers" (F. Li [1928] 1986–94), as if, Goldman's formulation appearing to him as being unsurpassable, this dispensed him from speaking after her, or as if she managed to express what he, himself, was unable to put down on paper. And that is why Ba Jin did not hesitate to slip into his own writings—in the manner of a Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967) (Leys 1998, 147–8), Lu Xun's brother—a few pages borrowed from other people's books: in a collection of essays published in 1938, *Meng yu zui* 夢與醉 (Dreaming and drunkenness) (Ba 1938), he integrates several translated texts, in the same way as in his complete works, where we find the volumes of the drawings by Castelao and by Sim (Ba 1986–94a, 17: 385–433, 435–501). This impression is confirmed by the fact that he published his complete translated works in a single collection under his own name.

Occasionally, the translation was transformed for Ba Jin into an involuntary substitute for creation. According to the periods, three motives justified this shift:

1. *The need.* Although he was a well-known writer, Ba Jin pursued his activities in the publishing domain until the beginning of the 1950s, notably at Wenhua Shenghuo where he ran several collections, including collections of translations (J. Li 2003). Right at the end of the 1940s (December 31, 1949), in a letter to Agnes Inglis, he writes:

> I am well, and do my literary work continually and as usual, though not without difficulty. My novels and stories once sold well, but the circulating of them decreases badly in these days. Yet I can earn my living by translating the world classics into Chinese. (Ba 2003, 21)

2. *Prudence*. When the Communists took power, Ba Jin considered that it was less dangerous for the militant anarchist that he was to publish translations rather than works of direct creation. But not just any kind of translations. It is apparently the pretext that he invokes in one of his *Suixiang lu* 隨想錄

(Random thoughts) about Gorky and his edition of the *Stories of the Steppe* re-published in 1950: "It goes without saying that the translations were more reliable" (Ba [1986] 1986–94, 672). On top of that, we may add, they were translations of Gorky. Let us emphasize nevertheless that the first versions of these texts started to appear in 1930, that they were edited in a volume in 1931, and that they were the first works of Gorky, those which Ba Jin once said in a letter dated May 31, 1948 to Jean Monsterleet were his favorites of this author whom he didn't know well (Pino forthcoming), and of which Kropotkin, moreover, spoke highly (Kropotkin 1905, 249 ff).
3. *Resignation*. When in 1973, during the Cultural Revolution, the label of "counter-revolutionary" is taken away from him, Ba Jin, who had been forbidden to write since 1966, returns to his translating activities to put a stop to his idleness; in fact he is then no longer authorised to write anything else.

Influence on the Work

Ba Jin prided himself on having translated only the works of authors he admired. This sentiment is accompanied by an undeniable desire for imitation: "All the works which I have translated are my teachers. If I have translated, it is first of all in order to learn (Ba [1991] 1986–94, 300)." He chose many people (we speak only of foreigners) as teachers or models: they range from Kropotkin to Emma Goldman to Vanzetti. For a long time he claimed to be a "Kropotkinian" (Feigan [1930] 1986–94, 7), and was the director of the publication of his complete works in China, while he regarded Emma Goldman as his "spiritual mother" (Ba [1934b] 1986–94, 4), and looked to Vanzetti for that which concerned ethics and political ideas.[44] To all of them must be added his masters in literature: Turgenev, whom he appreciated especially as the master of short stories (Ba [1958b] 1986–94, 521), and Herzen, from whom he still wanted to learn when he took up his pen again after the Cultural Revolution (Ba [1978] 1986–94, 292). He would constantly claim the influence of these two writers (Ba [1980c] 1986–94, 178).

This imitative admiration on different occasions caused the young Ba Jin to commit plagiarism: thus his compendium on anarchism which is only a very free paraphrase of an essay by Berkman (Ba 1930b),[45] or his article on Tolstoy

44 See the foreword to *Miewang* 滅亡 (Destruction) (Ba [1928] 1986–94, 3).

45 Berkman's book was first published under the title *What is Communist Anarchism?* (Berkman 1929), before being reprinted in 1936 under that of *Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism* (Berkman 1936).

(Ba [1935e] 1986–94, 413).[46] In this situation, it is understandable that he included neither one nor the other in his complete works. Ba Jin admitted that on occasion he altered a translation so much or incorporated so many additions, that he felt he had to publish it as if he were the author (Feigan [1926c] 1986–94, 109).[47] The avowal, which concerns brief political texts, also goes for more important works pertaining to literature: *Lina* 利娜 (Lina) (Ba [1936c] 1986–94) is effectively only an abridged adaptation of *Letters of a Nihilist* by Alexandra, and one of his biographers could not have said it better when he writes that this novel often reads "like a stiff and literal translation" (Mao 1978, 49).

But happily it is also displayed under less faulty aspects, when it is in the form of citations or of misappropriations, which constitute a sort of intertextuality or a *mise en abyme*. In *Random Songs,* Ba Jin alludes to "Old Izergil" and to "The Song of the Falcon" by Gorky;[48] in one of the essays which compose *Dragon, Tigers, Dogs*, he refers on one hand to *Danton's Death*, the play by Tolstoy, and on the other to Emmanuel des Essarts' poem on Lucie Desmoulins; and in his book on Russian revolutionary women, he gives a first version of Turgenev's poem that he loved so much, "The Threshold" (F. Li 1930, 262–3), in the same way he gives a first version of "The Rock on the Volga" in his biographical history of the Russian social movement (Ba [1935b] 1986–94, 522–5) or a first version of Nakahama Tetsu's 中濱哲 "Yi Furuta Daijirô" 古田大次郎 (In memory of Furuta Daijirō) in an article on terrorism (Feigan [1927] 1986–94, 254–5). "In my first novel, *Destruction*," he recalls, "I cited a dialogue between the characters of *Signal*." Here is the phrase in question: "Wolf does not eat wolf, but man will readily devour man" (Ba [1928] 1986–94, 94).[49] Though Ba Jin specifies here his source, further on, in the same novel, he indulges in a silent borrowing. The following passage comes, effectively, word for word, from Vanzetti's autobiography:[50]

> On several occasions, he had affirmed to whom he called "my child" that this grand day would arrive in the near future. Then, no one would ever shed tears and no one would ever suffer, each family would have a roof

46 In this article, he explains that his 1922 article about Tolstoy (Feigan 1922) was indeed plagiarism (he had used Tolstoy's words without quotation marks).

47 Here, the text used by Ba Jin is the work of a certain Hlebopjok.

48 Ba [1980b] 1986–94, 273 (it relates to "The Warrior Danko"); Ba [1981] 1986–94, 345.

49 "The Signal" is a work by Garshin.

50 "I wanted a roof for every family, bread for every mouth, education for every heart, light for every intellect" (Vanzetti 1924, 24).

> over its head, each mouth would be fed and each one would get clothes to wear, and the people would live hereafter peaceful days. (Ba [1928] 1986–94, 130)[51]

In his novel *Lina*, he takes up again, without any modification, a text of Alexandra, "Caipan" 裁判 (The judge), which he had previously translated for the review *Equality* (Ba [1936c] 1986–94, 436–9). A careful reading of Ba Jin's work would most certainly enable the detection of other misappropriations. We shall restrict ourselves to a rapid examination of the titles: "Menkan 門檻" (The threshold) and *Fu yu zi* 父與子 (Fathers and sons) are stolen from Turgenev,[52] *Mengya* 萌芽 (Germinal) from Zola,[53] *Zui yu fa* 罪與罰 (Crime and punishment) from Dostoyevsky (Ba [1932d] 1986–94), and "Ying de ge" 鷹的歌 (Song of a falcon) from Gorky (Ba [1981] 1986–94). But Ba Jin does not just appropriate titles of works translated by him; he also borrows titles from works he has *not* translated: for example, a collection of essays with a title borrowed from Zola*: Kongsu* 控訴 (J'accuse) (Ba[1937a] 1986–94); and two short stories with titles borrowed from Turgenev: "Chulian" 初戀 (First love) (Ba [1930a] 1986–94) and "Gou" 狗 (The dog) (Ba [1931a] 1986–94). Also, when Ba Jin doesn't take the title literally, he, despite all, maintains the structure and the spirit: the title of his short novel *Chuntian li de qiutian* 春天里的秋天 (Autumn in spring) is a reversal of that of Baghy's novel, *Qiutian li de chuntian* 秋天里的春天 (Spring in autumn), translated by him shortly before (Ba 1985, 130). However, we can here again extend the demonstration to works not translated by him: the title of his novel *Disi bingshi* 第四病室 (Ward number four) imitates that of Chekhov, *Ward Number Six*, just as the title of *Sheng zhi chanhui* 生之懺悔 (Confessions of a life) imitates that of the Chinese version of Furuta Daijirō's work, *Si zhi chanhui* 死之懺悔 (Confessions of a death), for which he wrote the postscript (Ba [1937b] 1986–94).[54] The *Sheng zhi chanhui*[55] should surely also be credited to the authority of Rousseau of

---

51 Elsewhere, Ba Jin literally copies Vanzetti's words, without omitting this time to attribute to him the paternity (Yuyi [1934b] 1986–94).

52 This first title, which he renders indifferently as "The Threshold" or "On the Threshold," Ba Jin gave to two of his works "Zai menkan shang" (On the threshold (Ba [1932c] 1986–94, 103–19), a short story, and an essay (Ba [1935f] 1986–94, 425–9). "Fu yu zi" (Fathers and sons), (Ba [1932a) 1986–94, 334–55), a short story, was also borrowed from Turgenev.

53 Ba Jin puts Zola's work into the hands of some of the characters of his works of fiction, as in *Hai di meng* 海底夢 (A dream on the sea) (Ba [1932b] 1986–94, 61) or in "Yali'anna" 亞麗安娜 (Aniela) (Ba [1931c] 1986–94, 140).

54 The work of Furuta Daijirô, which dates from 1926, was translated by Bo Feng 伯峯. The original title is *Shi no zange* 死の懺悔.

55 A collection of essays*,* prefaces and postscripts (Ba [1936d] 1986–94).

whom Ba Jin told a hundred times that he went to meditate in front of his statue when he stayed in Paris, but could just as well be linked to at least two other writers who had the favors of Ba Jin—Tolstoy and Gorky. Sometimes it is an expression read in one of the books he translated which inspired the title of the work: *Siqu de taiyang* 死去的太陽 (The dead sun) is a metaphor drawn from the play by Tolstoy, *Danton's Death*.[56] Other debts, although less direct, are nonetheless real: *Changsheng ta* 長生塔 (The immortality tower) is a title derived from *Chinmoku no tō* 沈黙の塔 (The tower of silence) (1911) by the Japanese Mori Ōgai (1862–1922), a novel he knew of due to the Chinese version by Lu Xun (Ba [1958c] 1986–94, 535, 531).

Having read and translated many foreign writers, Ba Jin was exposed to some influences, avowed and assumed, of another kind. It is Zola, with his serial on Rougon-Macquart, who suggested to him the idea of launching into serialized novels (Ba [1961] 1986–94, 398–9): his trilogy "Turbulent Stream," his trilogy "Love" or his trilogy "Revolution" (which is not really a trilogy, as one book is missing).

Then there is the influence on the style. In a text of 1958, when he undertakes a general compilation of his works, he declares:

> If anyone finds my essays to be neither Chinese nor Western and is determined to find traces of foreign influence, then I would like to remind him that I have read a great deal of European and American novels and biographies of revolutionaries, from which I have learned some writing skills. I had no chance to study Chinese rhetoric when I was in my teens but I read most of an English rhetoric book and learned something. For instance, in a piece of prose, there should be no rhyming lines. I have always paid attention to this point. For one period of time, my writings were heavily European in style. I translated a few foreign works and did not turn the foreign language into good Chinese. On the contrary, I learned how to write foreign essays with Chinese characters. Luckily I have a habit of unremittingly polishing my own essays, and only then will my writings improve. I recently compiled a collection of my own works. I have found in my past works many sentences in a European style. Naturally I have either changed or deleted them. But it was impossible to change some European-style titles (such as "Destruction of Love," "The Cross of Love," etc.) so I had no option but to keep them. When I did some translations in the past, I suffered from sticking to the method of

56 He recalls it to Jean Monsterleet, in a letter of June 30, 1948 (Pino forthcoming). The quotation from the play is used by Ba Jin as an epigraph in his novel. Cf. Ba [1931b] 1986–94, 327.

> word-for-word translation. Sometimes I knew that it was not right and wanted to do it more freely. Yet I feared that readers might look up words in a dictionary and would correct my "errors." To make things easier, I entirely followed the foreigners' way of writing. As I got used to this, the habit naturally affected my own way of writing. This is how another of my shortcomings came about. (Ba [1958c] 1986–94, 536–7)[57]

He inherited this "method of word for word translation" from Kenji Uchiyama 内山賢次(1889–1972) when, working on *Ethics*, he got help from the system of "mechanical transposition" (Ba [1958a] 1962, 311), used by Uchiyama for his Japanese version of Kropotkin's book (Ba [1979] 1986–94, 608).

Finally, this influence was exerted on the themes of Ba Jin's works. *Shanding* 砂丁 (The antimony miners), as much as *Mengya*, is to be compared to Zola's *Germinal*, and *Random Thoughts* to Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts*, which Ba Jin had just finished translating when he undertook his famous serialized essays. However, at the origin of Ba Jin's work, we find a number of other writings: "First Love" owes an enormous debt, as he himself recognised, to Turgenev's short story of the same name (Ba [1958b] 1986–94, 523) and how not to see a relationship between the heroine of *A Dream on the Sea* and the young woman aristocrat that Turgenev depicts in *On the Eve*,[58] who breaks away from her social class to follow her husband, a Bulgarian revolutionary? But, of course, Ba Jin came under the influence of quite a number of other western writers, Russians above all, and not only of those he had translated (Lang 1967, 218–54; Ng 1988, 181–218).

In a more diffused way, the authors who fascinate Ba Jin and whom he translated haunt the world in which the characters of his novels evolve. One of the heroes of *Lei* 雷 (Thunder) hung the portrait of Emma Goldman in his bedroom,[59] and in the letter she sent to her mother, the Lina of *A Dream on the Sea* evokes Sophia Perovskaïa, the terrorist to whom Turgenev dedicated "The Threshold," as well as the last words she put on paper before mounting the scaffold. And is it not of Vera Figner that Li Peizhu 李佩珠 thinks in *Dian* 電 (Lightning), even if Ba Jin denied having lent to the latter the features of the former (Ba [1935a] 1986–94, 38)?

---

57 Cited according to the translation by Wang Mingjie reproduced in *Selected Works of Ba Jin* (Ba 2005, 126–7).

58 Novel cited in *Jia* (1933) (Ba 1986–94a, 1:101). Ba Jin was referring to the Chinese version published in 1921.

59 This detail disappeared from the reprinted version in the *Complete Works of Ba Jin*.

Appendix

Chronological List of Works Translated by Ba Jin (1923–1997)

This inventory creates an index of the works translated by Ba Jin as well as of the new editions, and reprints they gave rise to up until 1997, when *Ba Jin yiwen quanji* 巴金譯文全集 (Complete works translated by Ba Jin) was published. They are classified in chronological order of production or of publication, and, as the case may be, their place in the aforesaid *Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin* and in the *Ba Jin quanji* 巴金全集 (Complete works of Ba Jin) has been localised.

The list established maintains a temporary character and does not pretend to be exhaustive, even if it is toward this result that I wished to aim, notwithstanding possible errors. Nevertheless, I do not believe that I have overlooked any essential text. For some of the works recorded, among those which were not republished and to which it was impossible for me to get access, I relied on the following works: Li Cunguang 李存光, "Ba Jin zhuyi liushi nian mulu" 巴金著譯六十年目錄 (Catalogue of the works and translations produced during sixty years by Ba Jin), Sichuan daxue xuebao (Sichuan University journal), 12 (November 1981), 3–55; and Tang Jinhai 唐金海 and Zhang Xiaoyun 張曉雲, *Ba Jin nianpu* 巴金年譜 (Chronological biography of Ba Jin), 2 vol. (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1989).[60] Two or three writings, the authenticity of which I was not absolutely certain, have not been included.

Each time, as far as it was possible, I have pointed out the reference of the original on which Ba Jin based the Chinese version, without being able to always certify that it was the edition used by him.

For easy reading, and at the risk of making the notes longer, I departed from the purism and formalism of conventional bibliographies by generally avoiding recourse to abbreviations.

Unless otherwise indicated, the translations were in the name of Ba Jin. The other pseudonyms used include Li Feigan 李芾甘, Feigan 芾甘, Feizi 非子, Heilang 黑浪, Yiqie 一切, Marat 馬拉, Renping 壬平, Wang Wenhui 王文慧, Peigan 佩竿, P.K., and Pei Kan.

My thanks go to Marianne Enckell and to Frédéric of the International Centre of Research on Anarchism (CIRA) of Lausanne, as well as to Christian Lavarenne, Philippe Pelletier and Frank Mintz, who helped me to identify certain sources or to whom I am indebted for information.

60 See also: Tien 1964 and Wang 2000.

1923

001.

Garshin, Vsevolod (Jia'erxun 迦爾詢). "Qihao" 旗號 (The flag), short story, trans. by Peigan. *Caotang* 草堂 (The cottage) 2 (Chengdu: January 20, 1923). Reprinted in 1950 as "The Signal " (see no. 180).

Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin (Russia: Ekaterinoslav Province, 1855 – Saint Petersburg, 1888).

Original: "The Signal" (1887). Probably translated from the English version: Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin, *The Signal, and Other Stories*, translated from Russian by Captain Rowland Smith. London: Duckworth & Co., 1912.

1924

002.

Japanese Society of Workers' Movement in Tokyo (Riben Dongjing laodong yundong she 日本東京勞動運動社). "Yijiu'ersan Riben da zhenzai zhong Riben zhengfu junfa ji fandongdang duiyu annaqizhuyizhe de gongji" 一九二三年日本大震災中日本政府軍閥及反動黨對于安那其主義者的攻擊 (The offensive of the warlords of the Japanese government and of the reactionary parties against the anarchists during the Great Earthquake in 1923), essay, trans. by Feigan. *Jingzhe* 驚蟄 (The awakening of insects) 1 (Canton Society of Truth: 1924).

1925

003.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman 高德曼). "Maliya Sipiliduonuowa de pohai shijian" 瑪麗亞.司披利多諾瓦的迫害事件 (The case of the persecution of Maria Spiridonova), essay, trans. by Feigan, with Translator's Afterword. *Minzhong* 民鐘 (The people's tocsin) 1, no. 10 (January 1, 1925). Reprinted in 1928 in *Su'e geming canshi* 蘇俄革命慘史 (The tragic history of the Soviet revolution in Russia), vol. 2, March 1928, 216–27. Shanghai: Ziyou shudian.

Emma Goldman (Lithuania, Kaunas 1869 – Canada, Toronto, 1940).

Original: "The Persecution of Maria Spiridonova," in Emma Goldman, *The Crushing of the Russian Revolution*, 17–22. London: Freedom Press, 1922.

004.

Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman 柏克曼). "Eluosi de beiju" 俄羅斯的悲劇 (The Russian tragedy), essay, trans. by Feigan. *The People's Tocsin* 1, no. 12 (July 1, 1925). Reprinted in 1928 in *The Tragic History of the Soviet Revolution in Russia*, 30–61 (see 003).

Alexander Berkman (Lithuania, Vilnius, 1870—France, Nice, 1936).

Original: *The Russian Tragedy* (*A review and an outlook*). (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, The Russian Revolution Series, No. 1, 1922).

005.

Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (Puludong 蒲魯東). "Caichan shi shenme" 財產是什麼? (What is property?), essay, trans. by Feigan. *The People's Tocsin* 1, nos. 13–15 (September 1925, January and June 1926).

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (France: Besançon, 1809 – Passy, 1865).

006.

Anonymous. "Yingguo zongtongmeng bagong" 英國總同盟罷工 (The strike of the English Trade Union Congress), essay, trans. by Feigan. *Minzhong* 民眾 (The masses) 6 (Shanghai, December 1925).

007.

Aliz (Alizi 阿利茲). "Kexue de wuzhengfuzhuyi zhi zhanlüe" 科學的無政府主義之戰略 (The strategy of scientific anarchism), essay, translation undertaken during the year by Feigan. In *Geming zhi lu* 革命之路 (Revolutionary road). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, Ziyou congshu 自由叢書 (Freedom series, vol. 3), April 1928, 69–87.

1926

008.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman). "Bidegele zhi wu yi jie" 彼德格勒之五一節 (The first of May in Petrograd), memoir, trans. by Feigan. *Shishi xinbao— Xuedeng* 時事新報.學燈 (Lamp of learning, supplement to *New journal on current affairs*) (Shanghai, January 17, 1926).

Original: "The First of May In Petrograd." In Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923; London, C.W. Daniel Company, 1925.

009.

Furuta, Daijirō 古田大次郎. "Yuzhong juebi" 獄中絕筆 (Last wishes in jail), memoir, trans. by Feizi. *The People's Tocsin* 1, no. 14 (January 1926). Reprinted in *Geming de xianqu* 革命的先驅 (Pioneers of revolution), Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, May 1928; and in Feigan, *Duantoutai shang* 斷頭臺上 (On the scaffold), Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, January 1929.

Furuta Daijirō (Japan, Tokyo: 1900–25).

Ba Jin quanji 巴金全集 (Complete works of Ba Jin) 21 (1993), 172–4.

010.

Rocker, Rudolf (Ruoke'er 若克爾). "Jindai laodong yundong zhong de yihui huodong guan" 近代勞動運動中的議會活動觀 (Observations on the parliamentary function in the modern workers' movement), essay, trans. from English by Feigan. *The People's Tocsin* 1, no. 14 (January 1926). Reprinted in 1928 in *The Road of Revolution*, 265–73 (see 007).

Rudolf Rocker (Germany, Mainz, 1873 – United States, Mohegan, Maine, 1958).

Original (German): *Zur Geschichte der parlamentarischen Tätigkeit in der modernen Arbeiterbewegung*. Berlin: Verlag Der Freie Arbeiter, 1919; 2nd ed. 1921. Translation from the English version: "The History of the Parliamentary Function in the Modern Workers' Movement," *Freedom*, no. 422.

011.

Aliz (Alizi). "Kexue de wuzhengfuzhuyi" 科學的無政府主義 (Scientific anarchism), essay, trans. by Feigan. *The People's Tocsin* 1, no. 14 (January 1926). Reprinted in 1928 in *The Road of Revolution*, 53–68 (see no. 007).

012.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman). "Funü jiefang de beiju" 婦女解放的悲劇 (The tragedy of woman's emancipation), essay, trans. by Li Feigan. *Xin nüxing* 新女性 (New woman) 1, no. 7 (July 1, 1926). Reprinted in Gaodeman, *Ziyou de nüxing* 自由的女性 (Free woman), Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1927.

Original: "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," *Mother Earth* 1, no. 1 (New York, N.Y., March 1906): 9–17.

Translator's Afterword (March 30, 1926) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 93.

013.

Graham, Stephen (Gelahan 格拉罕). "Bu'erseweike zhuanzheng xia de Eluosi wenhua" 布爾塞維克專政下的俄羅斯文化 (Russian culture under Bolshevik dictatorship), essay, trans. by Li Feigan. "Lamp of Learning," 8, pt. 4, no. 18 (April 18, 1926).

Stephen Graham (Scotland, Edinburgh, 1884 – England, London, 1975).

With a few words from the translator.

014.

Aliz (Alisi). "Wuzhengfuzhuyi zhi shehuixue de jichu" 無政府主義之社會學的基礎 (Sociological foundations of anarchism), essay, trans. by Feigan. *The People's Tocsin* 1, no. 15 (June 1926).

015.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman). "Fang Kelupaotejin" 訪克魯泡特金 (A visit to Kropotkin), memoir, trans. by Feigan. *The Masses* no. 16 (Shanghai: November 1926).

Original: "A Visit to Peter Kropotkin," in Emma Goldman, *The Crushing of the Russian Revolution*, 31–8 (see 003).

016.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin (克魯泡特金). *Mianbao lüequ* 麵包略取 (The conquest of bread), translation completed in December 1926 by Feigan. In *Kelupaotejin quanji* 克魯泡特金全集 (Complete works of Kropotkin), vol. 2. Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, November 1927. Reprinted as *Mianbao yu ziyou* 麵包與自由 (Bread and freedom), 1940 (see no. 120).

Peter Kropotkin (Russia, Moscow, 1842 – Dmitrov, 1921).

Translator's Foreword (December 1, 1926) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 94–8.

017.

Malatesta, Errico (Malatiesida 馬拉鐵司達). "Kexue yu wuzhengfuzhuyi" 科學與無政府主義 (Science and anarchism), essay, trans. by Feigan. *The People's Tocsin* 1, no. 16 (December 15, 1926).

Errico Malatesta (Italy: Province of Caserte, 1853 – Rome, 1932).

Original: "Scienza e Anarchia," *Pensiero e Volonta* (July 1, 1925). Translated from Spanish and French versions: *La Antorcha* no. 170 (5th Year, August 21, 1925); *Le Libertaire* no. 19 (31st Year, August 8, 1925).

Translator's Note in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 97.

018.

Rocker, Rudolf (Ruoke'er). "Kelupaotejin xueshuo de jieshao" 克魯泡特金學說的介紹 (Presentation of Kropotkin's doctrine), essay, trans. by Feigan. In *Kelupaotejin wu nian ji jinian kan* 克魯泡特金五年祭紀念刊 (Publication in commemoration of the fifth anniversary of Kropotkin's death), Minfeng she, 1926. Reprinted in *Minfeng* 民鋒 (People's vanguard) 2, no. 2 (February 1927).

1927

019.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Yu zhong yu tao yu* 獄中與逃獄 (Escape from prison), fifth part, memoir, trans. by Li Shizeng 李石曾 and Li Feigan. Canton: Guangzhou gexin shuju, May 1927.

Original: Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (1899). (French title: *Autour d'une vie*, 1898).

020.
Sacco, Nicolas, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (Sake 薩珂, Fanzaite 凡宰特). "Sake yu Fanzaite zhi quanti tongzhi de xin" 薩珂與凡宰特致全體同志的信 (Letter of Sacco and Vanzetti to all comrades), letter, translator not named. *Pingdeng* 平等 (Equality) 1, no. 4. (San Francisco, October 1927). Reprinted in 1929 in Feigan, *On the Scaffold* (see 009).

Nicolas Sacco (Italy, Torremagiore, province of Foggia, 1891—United States, Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1927); Bartolomeo Vanzetti (Italy, Villafalletto, Province of Cuneo, 1888 – United States, Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1927).

Original: Letter dated May 1927.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21 (1997), 235–6.

021.
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo (Fanzaite). "Fanzaite zhi benshe Heilang tongzhi xin—xundaozhe yishu zhi yi" 凡宰特致本社黑浪同志信—殉道者遺書之一 (Letter of Vanzetti to comrade Heilang, member of our society: first posthumous letter of the martyrs), translator not named. *Equality* 1, no. 4. (San Francisco, October 1927). Reprinted in 1929 as "Fanzaite zhi Feigan xin 凡宰特致芾甘信" (Vanzetti to Feigan), in *On the Scaffold* (see no. 009).

Original: Letter dated July 23, 1927.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21 (1997), 236–8.

022.
Sacco, Nicolas (Sake), "Sake gei tade erzi Danding zuihou de yi xin" 薩珂給他的兒子但丁最後的一信 (Sacco's last letter to his son Dante), translator not named. *Equality*, 1, no. 4. (San Francisco, October 1927). Reprinted in 1929 (see no. 009).

Original: Letter dated August 18, 1927.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21 (1997), 238–43.

023.
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo (Fanzaite). *Yige maiyuzhe de shengya* 一個賣魚者的生涯 (The life of a fish merchant), autobiographical account, translation completed on November 18, 1927 by Li Feigan. Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, Ziyou xiao congshu 自由小叢書 (Mini series on freedom, vol. 1), December 1928. Also in *Pioneers of Revolution* (see no. 009); and in Feigan, *On the Scaffold* (see no. 009). New edition as *Yige wuchan jieji de shengya di gushi* 個無產階級的生涯底故事 (The story of a proletarian life), Shanghai: Pinming shudian, 1939. Another version of this text was completed in 1935 and published as *The Story of a Life* (see no. 84).

Original: Bartolomeo Vanzetti., *The Story of a Proletarian Life* translated from Italian by Eugene Lyons; foreword by Alice Stone Blackwell; with an appreciation. by Upton Sinclair. Boston, Mass.: Sacco-Vanzetti New Trial League, 1924.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21 (1997), 207–34.

024.

Sinclair, Upton (Xinkela 辛克拉). "Jieshao Yige wuchan jieji de shengya di gushi" 介紹《一個無產階級的生涯底故事》 (Presentation of The story of a proletarian life), essay. In Fanzaidi 凡宰地 (Bartolomeo Vanzetti), *Wode shenghuo gushi* 我的生活故事 (The story of my life) (see no. 105).

Upton Sinclair (United Sates: Baltimore, Maryland, 1878 – Bound Brook, New Jersey, 1968).

Original: "An Appreciation." In Bartolomeo Vanzetti, *The Story of a Proletarian Life* Boston, Mass.: Sacco-Vanzetti New Trial League, 1924.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8, 244–7, as "Daixu" 代序 (By way of a preface) (by Apudun Xinkelai; Upton Sinclair).

025.

Blackwell, Alice Stone (Alisi Sidong Bulake'erwei 阿麗思.斯東.布拉克爾威). "Xiao yin" 小引 (Little introduction), essay. In Fanzaidi (Bartolomeo Vanzetti), *The Story of My Life* (see no. 105).

Alice Stone Blackwell (United States: East Orange, New Jersey, 1857 – Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950).

Original: "Foreword." In Bartolomeo Vanzetti, *The Story of a Proletarian Life.* Boston, Mass.: Sacco-Vanzetti New Trial League, 1924.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 8 (1997), 243.

026.

Sacco, Nicolas (Sake). "Sake gei tade liusui nü'er Yinnai de xin" 薩珂給他的六歲女兒茵乃的信 (Sacco's farewell letter to his daughter Ines, aged six), letter. In Feigan, *On the Scaffold* (see no. 009) and in "'Shenghuo di gushi' houji" 《生活底故事》後記 (Afterword to *The story of a life*), Vanzetti's autobiography, *Wenxue jikan* 文學季刊 (Literary quarterly) 2, no. 3 (September 1, 1935).

Letter dated July 19, 1927.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21 (1997), 243–4 (text wrongly dated August 1927).

027.

Vanzetti, Bartolomeo (Fanzaite). "Fanzaite zhi Danding xin" 凡宰特致但丁信 (Vanzetti's letter to Dante). In Feigan, *On the Scaffold* (see no. 009); and under the title "Qing

dajia shudu zhei yifeng xin—Fanzaite zhi Danding xin" 請大家熟讀這一封信——凡宰特致但丁信 (I ask everybody to read this letter carefully: Vanzetti's letter to Dante), translator not named, *Equality* 2, no. 3 (San Francisco: March 1929).

Original: Letter dated August 21, 1927. Dante is Sacco's son.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21, 244–6.

028.

Aliz (Alizi). *Kexue de shehuizhuyi* 科學的社會主義 (Scientific socialism), essay, trans. by Feigan. Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, "Minzhong congshu" (Vol. 1), 1927.

1928

029.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman). "Sitelinbao di sanben funü wenti ju" 斯特林堡底三本婦女問題劇 (Three plays of Strindberg about the problems of women), essay, translation completed in January 1928 by Feigan. *New Woman* 3, no. 4 (April 1, 1928).

Original: extract from *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1914. The three plays included are: *The Father* (1887), *Countess Julie* (1888), and *Comrades* (1888).

Translator's Note (January 2, 1928) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 100.

030.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman). "Yibusheng di si da shehui ju" 易卜生底四大社會劇 (The four major social plays of Ibsen), essay, translation completed in January 1928 by Feigan. *Yiban* 一般 (Ordinary) 4, no. 3 (March 5, 1928).

Original: taken from *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama*. Text slightly modified, with a few additions of the translator. The four plays included are: *The Pillars of Society* (1877), *A Doll's House* (*Nora;* 1879), *Ghosts* (1881), and *An Enemy of Society* (1882).

Translator's Afterword in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 120.

031.

Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman) et al. "Eguo gemingdangren yanzhong de Kelupaotejin" 俄國革命黨人眼中的克魯泡特金 (Kropotkin as seen by the members of the Russian revolutionary party), biography, trans. by Feigan. In *Kelupaotejin xueshuo gaiyao* 克魯泡特金學說概要 (Synopsis of Kropotkin's doctrine). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, February 1928.

032.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan* 人生哲學：其起源及其發展 (The philosophy of life: origin and development), essay, trans. by

Feigan between February and April 1928. Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, September 1928. Revised and reprinted in 1941 as *Ethics: Origin and Development* (see no. 124).

Translator's Preface (April 12, 1928) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 101–17.

033.

Alexandra (Yalinshandela 亞歷山德拉). "Caipan" 裁判 (The judge), essay, trans. by Heilang, Equality 1, no. 9 (San Francisco: March 1928).

Original: "Troisième Lettre," in Alexandra, translator not named, *Lettres d'une nihiliste,* 16–9. Paris: Messageries des journaux, 1880.

Text inserted by Ba Jin in his short novel *Lina* (1936): *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 5 (1987), 436–99 ("Third Letter").

034.

Steinberg, Isaak (Sitai'enbao 司太恩堡), "Eguo zuopai shehui-gemingdang yundong lüeshi" 俄國左派社會革命黨運動略史 (History of the movement of the Russian left socialist-revolutionary party), trans. from Esperanto by Feigan. *Equality* 1, no. 9 (San Francisco: March 1928) 6–10; and 1, no. 12 (July 1928), 8–11.

Isaac Nachman Steinberg (Latvia, Dvinsk, 1888 – United States, New York City, 1957).

Translator's Note in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 98.

035.

Lebedev, N. (Laibodaifu 莱伯代甫). "'Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan' Ewen yuanben bianzuanzhe Laibodaifu xu" 《人生哲學：其起源及其發展》俄文原本编纂者莱伯代甫序 (Lebedev's editor's Preface to The philosophy of life: origin and development) (May 1, 1922), translation completed in April 1928 by Feigan. In Kropotkin, *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development* (see no. 32).

Nikolai Konstantinovich Lebedev (Russia, 1879–1934).

Original: Kropotkin, *Ethics: Origin and Development*, translated from Russian by L.S. Friedland and J.R. Piroshnikoff (Piroznikov), Introduction by the Russian Editor N. (K.) Lebedev. London: Harrap, 1924.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 9–18.

036.

Friedland, Louis S., and Joseph R. Piroshnikoff (Luyisi S. Fulitelan 路易斯.S.弗利特蘭, Yuesefu R. Piluoxinikefu 約塞夫.R.皮洛席尼可夫). "'Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan' yingyizhe xu" 《人生哲學：其起源及其發展》英譯者序(English translator's preface to *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development*) (May 1924), translation completed in April 1928 by Feigan. In Kropotkin, *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development* (see no. 032).

Original: Kropotkin, *Ethics: Origin and Development* (see no. 35).
Complete W*orks Translated by Ba Jin* 10 (1997), 19–21.

037.
Kabanov (H. Jiabanuofu 加巴諾夫). "'Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan' shijieyu yiben xu" 《人生哲學：其起源及其發展》世界語譯本序 (Preface to the Esperanto translation of The philosophy of life: origin and development) (November 1924), essay, translation (from Esperanto) completed in April 1928 by Feigan. In Kropotkin, *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development,* (see no. 032).

Nikolaj Kabanov (Russia, Karachev, 1864—Soviet Union, 1942).

Original: From Petro Kropotkin, *Etiko*, El la rusa trad. (Leipzig: SAT (Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda), I.S.A.B. (Internacilingva Scienca Anarkisma Biblioteko), 1924). As Ba Jin indicates, Kabanov is not the translator, but only the preface writer of the book.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 22–3.

038.
Editorial Argonauta. "'Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan' xibanya yiben xu" 《人生哲學：其起源及其發展》西班牙譯本序 (Preface to the Spanish translation of *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development*) (1925), translation completed in April 1928 by Feigan. In Kropotkin, *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development* (see no. 032).

Original: Pedro Kropotkin, *Etica* (*Primera Parte*)*, Origen y evolución de la moral*, trad. directa del ruso por Nicolás Tasin (Nikelasi Taxin), prólogo por N. Lebedeff (Lebedev). Buenos Aires: Editorial Argonauta, 1925.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 24–6.

039.
Goldsmith, Marie (Mali Ge'erdesimisi 瑪麗.哥爾德斯密斯). "'Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan' fa yiben xu "《人生哲學：其起源及其發展》法譯本序 (Preface to the French translation of The philosophy of life: origin and development) (October 1926), translation completed in April 1928 by Feigan. In Kropotkin *The Philosophy of Life: Origin and Development* (see no. 32).

Marie Goldsmith (Goldsmit) (Switzerland, Zurich (?), 1873 – France, 1933).

Original: From Pierre Kropotkine, *L'Éthique*, trans. by Marie Goldsmith. Paris: Librairie Stock, 1927.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 27–9.

040.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). "Wuzhengfuzhuyi yu gongtuanzhuyi" 無政府主義與工團主義 (Anarchism and syndicalism), trans. by Heilang from Esperanto and Japanese. *Equality* 1, nos. 10–12. (San Francisco May–June–July 1928).

Original: Ba Jin indicates that the original text first appeared in French, and that it was published in German in the form of a brochure.

Translator's Note in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 99.

041.

Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman). "Feile" 非勒 (Ferrer), trans. by Feigan. In *Geming de xianqu* (*Pioneers of Revolution*). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, May 1928.

Original: "Francisco Ferrer and the Modern School." In Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, with biographic sketch by Hippolyte Havel, 151–72. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1910; Second Revised Edition, 1911.

042.

Prelooker, Jaakoff (Pulieluke'er 蒲列魯克爾). "Weile zhishi yu ziyou de yuangu" 為了知識與自由的緣故 (For knowledge and freedom's sake), essay, translation completed on May 27, 1928. In Pulieluke'er, *For Knowledge and Freedom's Sake.* Shanghai: Xin yuzhou shudian, October 1929. Reprinted in 1936 (see no. 092).

Jaakoff Prelooker (Russia, Pinsk, 1860–?, 1935).

Original: "For Knowledge and Freedom's Sake: The True Story of a Nihilistic Marriage" (Sergius Sinegub and Sophie Tchemodanoff). In Jaakoff Prelooker, *Heroes and Heroines of Russia: Builders of a New Commonwealth*, 51–92. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd, London, n.d. [1908].

Translator's Notice (March 1936) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 171.

043.

Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Bali gonshe yu Kelongshidatuo baodong jinian ri" 巴黎公社與克龍士達脫暴動紀念日 (Commemoration day of the Paris Commune and of the Kronstadt Rebellion), essay, trans. by Renping. *Equality* 1, no. 11 (San Francisco: June 1928).

044.

Stepniak (Sitepuniyake 司特普尼亞克). "Sanshijiu hao" 三十九號 (Number thirty-nine), essay, translated in June 1928. In Prelooker, *For Knowledge and Freedom's Sake.* Shanghai: Xin yuzhou shudian, October 1929. Reprinted 1936 (see no. 092).

Serge Mikhaïlovich Kravtchinski, also called Stepniak, the "son of the steppes" (Ukraine, 1851 – England, London, 1895).

Original: taken from *Russia under the Tzars* (trans. by William Westall, 1885).

Translator's Notice (March 1936) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 172.

045.

Kampf, Leopold (Liao Kangfu 廖抗夫). "Weina 薇娜" (Vera), short story, trans. from French by Feigan. In Liao Kangfu, *Weina* (Vera), Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, "Weiming congshu," June 1928; in the same volume, *Ye wei yang* 夜未央 (*Before the Night Ends*), drama by Kampf, trans. by Li Shizeng (Li Yuying, 1881–1973). Reprinted in Liao Kangfu, *Ye wei yang*, trans. by Li Shizeng (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, July 1929); and in *The Threshold*, May 1936 (see no. 92).

Leopold Kampf (Poland, Kraków, 1880 – Austria, Galicia, 1912).

Original: *Le Grand Soir*, 3–24 preceded by "Vera" (unpublished short story) Paris: A. Messein, 1909.

Translator's Notice (April 1936) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 173.

046.

Trotsky (Tuoluosiji 脫落斯基). "Tuoluosiji de Tuo'ersitai lun" 脫落斯基的托爾斯泰論 (Trotsky on Tolstoy), essay, translation completed in September 1928. *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜志 (Eastern miscellany) 25, no. 19 (Shanghai, November 10, 1928).

Leon Trotsky (Lev Davidovitch Bronstein; Russia, Ianovka, 1879 – Mexico, Mexico City, 1940).

Original: "Léon Tolstoï," trans. from German by Marcel Ollivier, *Monde*, 13 (September 1, 1928) 8–9 and 12. It was the first time that the translator used the pseudonym of Ba Jin.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 481–501 (as "Tuo'ersitai lun" (On Tolstoï)).

Translator's Foreword (September 9, 1928) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 118–99.

047.

Korczak, Janusz (Gao'erqiake 高爾恰克). "Chafang ye shi yige ren" 茶房也是一個人 (A waiter is also a man), translation completed in December 1928 by Yiqie. *Kaiming* 开明 (Enlightened) 1, no. 8 (February 10, 1929).

Janusz Korczak (Henryk Goldszmit; Poland: Varsovia, 1879 – Treblinka, 1942).

Translator's Note (December 25, 1928) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 121–3.

048.

Kampf, Leopold (Liao Kangfu). *Qianye* 前夜 (*On the eve*), three-act play, translated in 1928.

Unpublished version. A new translation was to be made in January 1930.

049.
"Fan'erjia di yanshi shang" 凡爾加底岩石上 (On the rocks of the Volga), Russian song, translation completed in 1929. *Xin shidai yuekan* 新時代月刊 (New era monthly) 1, no. 2 (September 1, 1931) (as "Fu'erjia xuanya shang 伏爾加懸崖上" (Above the cliffs of the Volga)). Included in Ba Jin, *Eguo shehui yundong shihua* 俄國社會運動史話 (Historical account about the Russian social movement), "Sidunjia Lajin yu diyici geming" 司頓加.拉進與第一次革命 (Stenka Razin and the first revolution) (Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, Shanghai, September 1935, and January 1936). Reprinted in *Ziyou yuekan* 自由月刊 (Freedom monthly) 1, no. 1 (Shanghai: January 30, 1929); and in *Rebellious Songs* in 1940 (see no. 127).

Original: probably taken from Jaakoff Prelooker, *Heroes and Heroines of Russia: Builders of a New Commonwealth.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd, n.d. (1908). ("The Rock on the Volga," 6–9).

Complete Works of Ba Jin 21, 522–5.

1929
050.
Zola (Zuola 左拉). "Ta" 她 (She), trans. by Mala (Marat). *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 1 (January 30, 1929).

Émile Zola (France, Paris: 1840–1902).

Original: From *Germinal* (1885), part VII, chap. 2.

051.
Essarts, Emmanuel des (Aimaniuai'er-De-Aisa'er 埃馬紐埃爾.德.埃薩爾). "Luxi Demulan" 露西德木蘭 (Lucile Desmoulins), poem. *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 2 (Shanghai: February 25, 1929). Reprinted in *Rebellious Songs*, September 1940 (see no. 127).

Alfred Emmanuel Langlois des Essarts (France: Passy, 1839 – Lempdes, 1909).

Original: From *Poèmes de la révolution, 1789–1796*, 87–9. Paris, G. Charpentier, 1879.

052.
Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen 赫爾岑), "Muqin zhi si" 母親之死 (The mother's death), recollections, trans. by P.K. (Pei Kan). *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 2 (Shanghai: February 25, 1929). Reprinted, by Ba Jin, in *New Era Monthly* 1, no. 3 (October 1, 1931); then in *Yige jiating de xiju* 一個家庭的戲劇 (A family drama), August 1940 (see no. 123).

Alexander Herzen (Russia, Moscow, 1812 – France, Paris, 1870).

Translator's Afterword in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 124.

053.
Pushkin, Alexander (Puxijin 普希金). "Puxijin anwei zai Xiboliya kuangkeng zhong de shi'eryuedangren shi he shi'eryuedangren de dashi" 普希金安慰在西伯利亞礦坑中的十二月黨人詩和十二月黨人的答詩 (Poem written by Pushkin to comfort the Decembrists in the mines of Siberia, and poem of a Decembrist in response), poem. *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 3 (March 25, 1929). Reprinted in 1940 in *Rebellious Songs* (see no. 126) (September 1940), under the following titles: Pushkin (Puxijin), "Ji Xiboliya de yinxin 寄西伯利亞的音信" (Missive to Siberia); A Decembrist, "Da Pushigeng 答普式庚" (Response to Pushkin).

Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin (Russia: Moscow, 1799—Saint Petersburg, 1837).

Original: Probably taken from "Pushkin's Message to the 'Decembrists,' and their Reply," in Jaakoff Prelooker, *Heroes and Heroines of Russia: Builders of a New Commonwealth, 30–31*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd, n.d. (1908). Neither Prelooker nor Ba Jin indicates that the response to Pushkin is a poem of Alexander Odojewski (Russia: Saint Petersburg, 1802 – Fort Lazarevski, 1839).

054.
"Fan'erjia, Fan'erjia" 凡爾加.凡爾加 (Volga, Volga), popular Russian song, trans. from Esperanto. *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 3 (Shanghai, March 25, 1929). Reprinted in *Rebellious Songs*, September 1940 (see no. 127).

Original: This is the ballad of Stenka Rasin (1630–1671), composed by Dimitri Sadovnikov (Russia: Simbirsk, 1847 – Saint Petersburg, 1883), whose original title is "Volga, Volga mat'rodnaya." The Esperanto version used by Ba Jin was published in the magazine *Heroldo de Esperanto*.

055.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu 屠格涅夫). "Zai menkan shang" 在門檻上 (On the threshold), prose poem. *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 4 (Shanghai: April 25, 1929).

Ivan Sergueïevitch Turgenev (Russia, Oriol, 1818 – France, Bougival, 1883).

056.
Rapport, A.S. "Shiqu de Wanniya" 失去的萬尼亞 (Vanya disappears), historical account, trans. by Marat. *Freedom Monthly* 1, no. 4 (Shanghai: April 25, 1929).

Angelo Salomon Rapport (or Rappoport; Ukraine, Baturim, 1871 – France, Paris, 1950).

Original: "Vanya Disappears," in A.S. Rappoport, *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution*, chap. X (Reaction and Terrorism). New York: Brentano's; London: Stanley Paul, 1918.

057.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). "Puludong di rensheng zhexue" 蒲魯東底人生哲學 (The philosophy of life of Proudhon), essay, trans. by Feigan during the year 1929. In Kelupaotejin, *The Philosophy of Life of Proudhon*. Shanghai: Freedom Series (vol. 1), June 1929. Revised version, 1940 (see no. 126).

058.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan* (*xia bian*) (The philosophy of life: origin and development (part 2)), trans. by Feigan. Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, July 1929. Revised edition as *Ethics: origin and development,* 1940 (see no. 124).

Translator's Preface (May 1929) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 125–9.

059.

"Aiqing" 爱情 (Love), Japanese popular tale, translated from Esperanto by Yiqie. *Kaiming* 2, no. 3 (July 10, 1929).

Esperanto version used by Ba Jin: "La Amo," *La Tagigo* (The dawn) 11 ((March) 1929), 4.

060.

Stepniak (Sitepuniyake), *Di dixia de Eluosi* 地底下的俄羅斯 (Underground Russia), trans. by Li Feigan. Shanghai: Qizhi shudian, August 1929. Revised version as *Eguo xuwuzhuyi yundong shihua* 俄國虛無主義運動史話 (About the Russian nihilist movement, 1936 (see no. 95).

Original (Italian): *La Russia sotterranea*, 1882. Ba Jin used the English version (*Underground Russia*, 1883), French version (*La Russie souterraine*, 1885), Spanish version (*La Rusia Terrorista*, 1899) and Japanese version (*Chitei no Roshia*, 1918).

061.

E., "Sitepuniyake zhuan" 司特普尼亞克傳 (Biography of Stepniak). In Sitepuniyake, *Underground Russia*, trans. by Li Feigan. Shanghai: Qizhi shudian, August 1929.

Original (Spanish): "Stepniak," in Stepniak, *La Rusia Terrorista, perfiles y bocetos revolucionarios*, vii–x. obra secuestrada y perseguida por la autoridades rusas. Barcelona: F. Granada, Biblioteca contemporánea (1899).

062.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji 高爾基). "Buneng si de ren" 不能死的人 (The man who could not die), short story, translation completed in December 1929. In Gao'erji, *Caoyuan gushi* 草原故事 (Stories of the steppe), Malaiya shudian, April 1931 (see no. 74).

Maxim Gorky (Russia: Nizhny Novgorod, 1868 – Moscow, 1936).

Original: "The Man who Could Not Die (from 'Old Izergil')," in Maxim Gorky, *Stories of the Steppe*, translated by Henry T. Schnittkind & Isaac Goldberg. Boston: Stratford Company Publishers, 1918.

063.
Ninoshvili. "Lao Keqiu de meng" 老客秋的夢 (The dream of old Keqiu), short story, translated from Esperanto by Yiqie. *Kaiming* 2, no. 3 (September 10, 1929).

Egnate Ninoshvili (Egnate Ingorokva; Georgia: Kela, 1859 – Chirchveti, 1894).

064.
Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Yige gemingzhe de huiyi* 一個革命者的回憶 (Memoirs of a revolutionary), autobiography. 2 vols. Qiming shudian, April 1930. Reprinted: Shanghai, Xinmin shudian, September 1933. Revised version as *Wodi zizhuan* 我底自傳 (My autobiography), 1939 (see no. 115).

Translator's Preface (January 1930), Translator's Afterword in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 1302 and 133–5.

1930
065.
Amicis, Edmondo de (Yamiqisi 亞米契斯). *Guoke zhi hua* 過客之花 (The flowers of passers-by), fourteen-scene play, translated from Esperanto. *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (Fiction monthly) 21, no. 1 (January 15, 1930). Published in volume form: Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, June 1933. Revised translation (September 1939): Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Fanyi xiao wenku" (1st Serie), September 1940.

Edmondo de Amicis (Italy: Oneglia, 1846 – Bordighera, 1908).

Original: *Fiore del passato: bozzetto drammatico in un atto.* Milano: Treves, 1906. Version used by Ba Jin: *La Floro de l'Pasinto: Unuakta drameto el vivo Italia*, trans. from Italian by Rosa Junck (1850–1929). Basel: Basler Buch 1906.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 59–94. Translator's Preface (January 1933; with an addendum in September 1939 for the revised version of the text); also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 150–1.

066.
Kampf, Leopold (Liao Kangfu). *Qianye* 前夜 (On the eve), three-act play, new translation in January 1930. Shanghai: Qizhi shuju, April 1930. Revised and reprinted in 1937 as *Before the night ends* (see no. 96).

Translator's Notice (February 1930) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 138–9.

067.
Woude, Johanna van (Wudai nüshi 吳黛女士 (Madame Woude)). "Women nüren" 我們女人 (We women), essay, trans. from Esperanto by Yiqie. *Kaiming*, no. 20 (February 1, 1930).

Johanna van Woude (Sophia Margaretha Cornelia van Wermeskerken-Junius; Netherlands: Tiel, 1853 – Utrecht, 1904).

Original: "Ni virinoj!... (Wij vrouwen!...)" (We, women), Kun la permeso de l'eldonisto L.J. Veen (with the authorization of the publisher L. J. Veen), Amsterdam, esperantigis (translated in Esperanto by) M. P. (Maria Posenaer), 12 Januaro 1910, in Johanna van Woude, *El "Pri la Muziko de l'vivo"* (About the music of life), esperantigis (translated in Esperanto by) Maria Posenaer, with no mention of the publisher (n.p. (Antwerpen): De Vos & van der Groen, publisher, 1910), 27–31 (this booklet contains another text, "Ne dezirita" (Not wanted)). The original Dutch text was published in the volume entitled: *Van de muziek des levens* (About the music of life), with plates by Ludwig Willem Reymert Wenckebach (1860–1937). Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, n.d. (1895).

068.
Akita, Ujaku 秋田雨雀. *Kulou de tiaowu* 骷髏的跳舞 (Skeleton dance), three one-act plays, translated from Esperanto by Yiqie. Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, March 1930.

Includes: *Guojing zhi ye* (Night at the frontiers); *Kulou de tiaowu* (Skeleton dance); *Shoutuoluoren de penquan* (Shudra's fountain).

Akita Ujaku (Akita Tokuzô; Japan: Aomori Prefecture, 1883 – ?, 1962).

Originals (Esperanto): *Nokto ce landolimoj; Danco de skeleto; Fonto de sudro*. Version probably used by Ba Jin: Ujaku Akita, *Fonto de sudroj, Danco de skeletoj, Nokto ce landolimoj* (tri dramoj, kun permeso de la autoro el japana lingvo), trans. by Hajime Suzui and Kaname Susuki.Tokyo: Japana Esperanto-Instituto, 1927.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 1–58. Translator's Preface (March 1930) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 136–7.

069.
Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). "Wei le dandiao de yuangu": 為了單調的緣故 (Because of monotony), short story. *Eastern Miscellany* 27, nos. 11–12 (June 1930). Reprinted in 1931 (see no. 74).

Original English version: "Because of Monotony," in Maxim Gorky, *Stories of the Steppe*, translated by Henry T. Schnittkind & Isaac Goldberg.Boston: Stratford Company Publishers, 1918.

070.

Tolstoy, Aleksey (A. Tuo'ersitai 阿.托爾斯泰). *Dandong zhi si* 丹東之死 (The death of Danton), twelve-act play, translated from Esperanto by Yiqie. Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, July 1930 (seven reprints by October 1951, including: November 1935, 2nd ed.; May 1939, 3rd ed.; May 1946, 4th ed.; March 1947, 6th ed.). Annexed Translator's Study: "Faguo da geming de gushi" (The story of the great French revolution).

Aleksey Nikolayevich Tolstoy (Russia, Pugachyov, 1883 – Soviet Union, Moscow, 1945).

Russian Original: *Smert Dantona* (1928). Version used by Ba Jin: *La morto de Danton*, trans. by Nikolao Hohlov (1891–1953) (Köln: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1928).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 95–193. Translator's Preface (February 1931) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 143–4.

071.

Eroshenko (Ailuoxianke 愛羅先珂). "Muxing de shen" 木星的神 (The spirit of Jupiter), tale, translation completed in September 1930. In Ailuoxianke, *Xingfu de chuan* 幸福的船 (The boat of happiness), trans. by Ba Jin, Lu Xun, Xia Mianzun, Hu Yuzhi, Juenong, Xike, and Wei Huilinl. Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, March 1931. Reprinted as "Muxing de renshen" 木星的人神 (The human spirit of Jupiter), in 1948 (see no. 161).

Vasili Eroshenko (Russia, 1890–?, 1952).

Original: Ba Jin does not specify where the text came from, nor from which language he translated it. It was originally written in Japanese. There is a version in Esperanto, by Shibayama Junichi—"Homoj-dioj sur Jepitero"—included in the following collection of works by Eroshenko: *Stranga kato: kompilita de Mine Yositaka* (Toyonaka-si: Japana Esperanta Librokooperativo, 1983) 31–37.

Ba Jin is the author of the preface opening the volume in which his translation appeared: "Ailuoxianke de 'Xingfu de chuan'" (The boat of happiness by Eroshenko) (March 1930). He also included this text in *Xiao* 笑, under the title of "Guanyu Ailuoxianke" (About Eroshenko)(see no. 160) with a short marginal note dated March 1931.

1931

072.

Bratescu Voinesti, I.A.L. (Bolatesigu Funaisiti 勃拉特斯古.伏奈斯悌). "Jiasiduo'er zhi si" 加斯多爾之死 (The death of Kastor), short story, translated from Esperanto. *Shidaiqian* 時代前 (Before the time) 1, no. 2 (February 20, 1931). Reprinted in 1948 (see no. 161).

Ioan Alexandru Bratescu Voinesti (Romania: Targoviste, 1868 – Bucharest, 1946).

Original: The original title is *Moartea lui Castor*, and the title of the Esperanto version used by Ba Jin is: *La Morto de Kastor*. Sigmund Prager, 1929.

073.
Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). "Majia'er Zhouda" 馬加爾.周達 (Makar Chudra), short story, translated in February 1931. In Gao'erji *Stories of the Steppe*, April 1931 (see no. 74).

Original in English: "Makar Chudra," in Maxim Gorky, *Stories of the Steppe*, translated by Henry T. Schnittkind & Isaac Goldberg. Boston: Stratford Company Publishers, 1918. Translation revised afterwards on the basis of the original in Russian, and published under a new title: "Maka'er Chudela."

074.
Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Caoyuan gushi* 草原故事 (Stories of the Steppe), collection of short stories. Four editions between April 1931 and May 1934: Malaiya shudian, Xin shidai shuju, Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe.

Includes: "Makar Chudra," "Because of Monotony," and "The Man Who Could Not Die."

English originals: "Makar Chudra," "Because of Monotony" and "The Man Who Could Not Die (from 'Old Izergil')," in Maxim Gorky, *Stories of the Steppe*, translated by Henry T. Schnittkind & Isaac Goldberg. Boston: Stratford Company Publishers, 1918.

Translator's Introductory Note (February 1931) and Translator's Foreword (September 1931) for the Xin shidai shuju's edition (October 1931) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 140–1 and 142.

075.
Baghy, Julio (Youli Baji 尤利.巴基). *Qiutian li de chuntian* 秋天里的春天 (Spring in autumn), short novel, translation from Esperanto, completed in December 1931. *Zhongxuesheng* 中學生 (High school student) nos. 23–26 (April to July 1932). Published in volume form: Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, October 1932 (sixteen reprints by 1951). New Edition: Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe, May 1953 (reprint: October 1953); and Hong Kong: Zhongliu chubanshe, June 1958.

Julio (or Gyula) Baghy (Hungary: Szeged, 1891 – Budapest, 1967).

Original: *Printempo en la autuno: rakonto pri dolce melankolia renkonto*, kun ilustrajo de Irma Szathmáry. Köln: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1931.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 283–388. Translator's Preface (Last day of the year 1931) and Translator's Note to the third edition (September 27, 1936) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 145–9 and 178–81.

1934

076.

Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er 薇娜.妃格念爾). "Lutemina" 魯特米娜 (Ludmila), trans. by Wang Wenhui, *Wenxue* 文學 (Literature) 3, no. 4 (October 1, 1934). Reprinted as "Wo dedao yige pengyou 我得到一個朋友" (I acquire a friend), in Weina Feigenian'er, *Yu zhong ershi nian* 獄中二十年 (*Twenty years in prison*), February 1949 (see no. 170).

Vera Figner (Russia, Kazan, 1852 – Soviet Union, Moscow, 1942).

1935

077.

Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Dilao li shengzhang de ai de hua" 地牢裡生長的愛的花 (Love's dungeon flower), autobiographical account. *Yiwen* 譯文 (Translated literature) 2, no. 2 (April 16, 1935). Reprinted in Baikeman, *Yu zhong ji* 獄中記 (Prison memoirs), September 1935 (see no. 86).

Original: "Love's Dungeon Flower," in Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of An Anarchist*, part II, chap. XXVII. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913.

078.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Gao qingnian* 告青年 (An appeal to the young), essay, translated in April 1935. San Francisco: Pingshe, "Shehui wenti xiao congshu" (Vol. 1), October 1937.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 471–502. Translator's Preface (April 1935) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 162–3.

079.

Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Xing de kewang" 性的渴望 (The urge of sex), autobiographical account. *Translated Literature* 2, no. 3 (May 16, 1935). Reprinted in 1935 in *Prison Memoirs* (see no. 86).

Original: "The Urge of Sex." In Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, part II, chap. XV, New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913.

080.

Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Pianduan de huiyi" 片斷的回憶 (Fragments of memories), autobiographical account. *Literary Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (June 16, 1935). Reprinted in *Prison Memoirs*, 1935 (see no. 86).

Original: Taken from Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist.* New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913. Contains the first part of the book, except the last two chapters, "The Jail" and "The Trial" (chaps. VI and VII), because of their length; some passages of the first chapter, "The Call of the Homestead," have been deleted, because they were *"*difficult to publish,*"* and replaced by dots.

Translator's Postface (April 18, 1935) to the *Literary Quarterly* version in the *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 161.

081.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Menkan" 門檻 (The threshold), prose poem, translation completed in May 1935. *Zhongxuesheng* (High school student) 56 (June 1, 1935). Reprinted in 1936 in *The Threshold* (see no. 092); and in 1945 in *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

Translator's Preface (May 1935) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 164–5.

082.
Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Dufang" 獨房 (The solitary)—"Jiyi de keren" 記憶的客人(Memory-guests), autobiographical account. *Translated Literature* 2, no. 4 (June 16, 1935). Reprinted in *Prison Memoirs*, 1935 (see no. 86).

Original: "The Solitary" and "Memory-Guests," in Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, part II, chap. XVIII and XIX. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913.

083.
Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Juewang de sixiang 絕望的思想" (Desperate thoughts), autobiographical account. *Translated Literature* 2, no. 5 (July 16, 1935). Reprinted in 1935 (see no. 86).

Original: "Desperate Thoughts," in Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, part II, chap. I. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913.

084.
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo (Fanzaidi). *Shenghuo di gushi* 生活底故事 (The story of a life), autobiographical account, new translation completed in July 1935. *Literary Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (September 1, 1935). Published in volume form, as *The Story of My Life* in 1940 (see no. 105).

085.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Qigai 乞丐 (The beggar)—Gongren he baishouren 工人和白手人 (The workman and the man with white hands—Eluosi yuyan 俄羅斯語言 (The Russian tongue), prose poems. *Translated Literature* 2, no. 6 (August 16, 1935). Reprinted in 1945 in *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

086.
Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). *Yu zhong ji* 獄中記 (Prison memoirs), memoirs, translation completed in August 1935. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Wenhua shenghuo congkan" (Vol. 4), September 1935 (six reprints until April 1947).

Original: *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913. Annexed excerpt from Emma Goldman, *Living my Life*, vol. 2, chap. XXX . New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 9 (1997), 1–196. Translator's Afterword (September 1, 1935) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 166–8.

087.
Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Caoyuan gushi* 草原故事 (Stories of the Steppe), collection of short stories, new edition. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, November 1935 (seven reprints until February 1949).

Translator's Afterword (October 1935) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 169–70.

088.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Tugeniefu sanwen shi sishou" 屠格涅夫散文詩四首 (Four poems in prose by Turgenev), translations completed on November 10, 1935. *Literary Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (December 16, 1935). Reprinted in 1945 in *Prose Poems* (see no. 143).

Includes: "Baicai tang" (Cabbage soup) (May 1878); "Er fuhao" (Two rich men) (July 1878); "Qiangweihua, duome mei, duome xinxian" (How fair, How fresh were the roses . . .) (September 1879); "Women yao jixu fendou" (We will still fight on) (November 1879).

1936
089.
Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen). "Huiyi liangze" 回憶兩則 (Two reminiscences) *Translated Literature* 1, no. 1 (March 16, 1936). Reprinted in 1940 in *A Family Drama* (see no. 118).

090.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Qiangwei ji qita" 薔薇及其他 (The rose and others), prose poems. *Translated Literature* 1, no. 1 (March 16, 1936). Reprinted in 1945 in *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

Includes: "Qiangwei" (The rose) and "Maxia" (Masha).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 3 (1997), 437–8 and 423–4.

091.
Berkman, Alexander (Baikeman). "Jiyi de keren" 記憶的客人 (Memory-guests), autobiographical account. *Translated Literature* 1, no. 1 (March 16, 1936).

Original: "Memory-Guests," in *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, part II, chap. XIX. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1913.

092.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu), et al. *Menkan* 門檻 (The threshold), prose poems. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, May 1936. Reprinted in June 1936 and in May 1939, in a revised version. Includes: Tugeniefu (Turgenev), "Threshold," Pulieluke'er (Jaakoff Prelooker), "For Knoweldge and Freedom's Sake," Sitepuniyake (Stepniak) "Number Thirty-Nine," and Liao Kangfu (Leopold Kampf), "Vera."

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 2 (1997), 447–537. Translator's Afterword (April 1936) and Translator's Notices also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 174.

093.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Jinian Fuliesijiaya furen" 紀念福列斯加亞夫人 (To the memory of U.P. Vrevsky), prose poem. *Dagong bao. Wenyi* 大公報·文藝 ("Literature and arts," supplement to *Impartial daily*), June 24, 1936. Reprinted in Tugeniefu, *Poems in Prose*, May 1945 (see no. 43).

094.

Ishikawa, Sanshirô 石川三四浪. "Yi Chunyue" 憶春月 (In memory of Ikuta) and "Chunyue zhi si" 春月之死 (The death of Ikuta), (1931); essays; translations completed in July 1936. *Wenji yuekan* 文季月刊 (Literary season monthly) 1, no. 3 (August 1, 1936). Reprinted in Ba Jin, *Meng yu zui* 夢與醉 (Dream and intoxication), collection of essays, Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, September 1938.

Ishikawa Sanshirô (Japan: Prefecture of Saitama, 1876–?, 1956).

Original: Both texts were initially published in the magazine *Dinamikku* (Dynamique) published by the author; Ba Jin translated them from the version included in a collection of works by Ishikawa Sanshirô entitled *Fujin sôbô* (Aspirations without limits) (1935). They are about Ikuta Shungetsu (Ikuta Seihei; 1892–1930), poet, novelist, anarchist, critic, and Japanese translator of Heinrich Heine. He committed suicide by throwing himself into the sea.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 503–12 (under the general title of *Chunyue zhi si* (The death of Ikuta)). Translator's Afterword (July 2, 1936) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 177.

095.

Stepniak (Sitepuniyake). *Eguo xuwuzhuyi yundong shihua* 俄國虛無主義運動史話 (Historical account about the Russian nihilist movement). Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, August 1936. Reprinted October 1936. Revised version of *Underground Russia* (See no. 60).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 1–238 (under the original title). Translator's Afterword (night of 20 June 1936) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 175–6.

1937

096.

Kampf, Leopold (Liao Kangfu). *Ye weiyang* 夜未央 (Before the night ends), three-act play, revised version. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Wenhua shenghuo congkan" (Vol. 20), February 1937. Reprinted July 1937, 3rd ed.; February 1941, 4th ed.; April 1947, 5th ed. First version published in 1930 as *On the Eve* (See no. 66). In appendix: "Guanyu Liao Kangfu" (About Leopold Kampf).

Original: *Le Grand Soir*, preceded by "Vera" (unpublished short story). Paris: A. Messein, 1909; *Le Grand soir*, a three act play, adapted to the French theatre by Robert d'Humières (Théâtre des arts, 23 December 1907), *L'Illustration théâtrale*, 81 (February 8, 1908).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 195–281. Editor's Afterword (January 1937); also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 182.

1938

097.

Kaminski (Jiaminsiji 加閔斯基). "Yige xingxiong de zangyi" 一個英雄的葬儀 (Funeral of a hero), translation completed on April 20, 1938. *Wencong* 文叢 (Literary miscellany) 2, no. 1 (May 20, 1938), and *Wenyi* 文藝 (Literature and arts) 1, no. 1 (June 5, 1938). Reprinted in 1938 as an annex to Gaodeman (Emma Goldman) et al., *The Fighter Durruti* (see no. 103) and in Ba Jin, *Dream and Intoxication*, collection of essays (see no. 94).

Hanns-Erich Kaminski (East Prussia, Labiau, 1899 – Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1963).

Original: "Funérailles d'un héros," in H.-E. Kaminski, Ceux de Barcelone. Paris: Denoël, 1937.

098.

Castelao (Jiasitelao 加斯特勞). *Xibanya de xue* 西班牙的血 (The blood of Spain), collection of drawings. Pingming shudian, April 1938. (Reprint: July 1938). Reprinted under this generic title, together with *Xibanya de kunan* 西班牙的苦難 (The pains of Spain) by the same author, in October 1948.

Alfonso Daniel Manuel Rodríguez Castelao (Spain, Rianxo, 1886 – Argentina, Buenos-Aires, 1950).

Original: Twenty drawings selected by Ba Jin in two albums of the artist—*Galicia Mártir* (Ediciones Españolas, Madrid-Valencia, 1937) and *Atila en Galicia* (Comité Nacional de la CNT, Valence, 1937)—whose captions he translated. With a dedication of the national committee of the CNT, and a brief address of Castelao "To the Gallicians scattered all over the world" (February 1937).

Complete Works of Ba Jin 17 (1991), 385–433.

099.
Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Wanren de anle* 萬人的安樂 (Well-being for all), without name of translator. Shanghai: Pingming shudian, "Shehui wenti yanjiu xiao congshu" (Vol. 2), May 1938.

Includes two texts (the first two chapters of Kelupaotejin, *Bread and Freedom* (*The Conquest of Bread*) (August 1940)): "Well-Being for All" and "Women de caifu" (Our riches).

100.
Rüdiger, H. (H. Lüdige'er 呂狄格爾). "Yige Xibanya zhanshi di si" 一個西班牙戰士底死 (The death of a Spanish fighter). *Fenghuo* 烽火 (Beacons) no. 13 (May 1, 1938): 223–4 and no. 14 (May 10, 1938): 253–6. Reprinted in 1938 as "Bu'ainawentula Duludi de shengping" 布埃那文土拉.杜魯底的生平 (The life of Buenaventura Durruti), in *The Fighter Durruti* (see no. 103).

Helmut Rüdiger (Germany, Frankenberg, 1903 – Spain, Madrid, 1966). Original: "The Life of Buenaventura Durruti," in Buenaventura Durruti (Barcelona: Official Propaganda Service of CNT-FAI, 1937).

101.
Minnig, Albert (A. Mining 米寧). "Yige guoji zhiyuanbing de riji" 一個國際志願兵的日記 (Diary of an international volunteer). *Beacons,* nos. 15–20 (May 21 to October 11, 1938). Published in volume form in 1939 (see no. 110).

Albert Minnig (Switzerland, Yverdon: 1911–1964).

Original: "Cahier d'un milicien suisse dans les rangs de la CNT-FAI," Le Réveil anarchiste 978–992 (Geneva: July 24, 1937–February 12, 1938).

102.
Sim (Xingmen 幸門). *Xibanya de liming* 西班牙的黎明 (The dawn of Spain), collection of engravings with captions. Pingming shudian, "Xin yishu congkan" (Vol. 2), July 1938. Reprinted 1939.

Eighteen drawings selected and captioned by Ba Jin, with a dedication of the CNT and the FAI. Revised and expanded edition in 1949 (see no. 164)

Sim (José Luis Rey Vila; Spain, Cádiz, 1910 – France, Paris, 1983).

Complete Works of Ba Jin 17 (1991), 435–501.

103.
Goldman, Emma (Gaodeman), et al. *Zhanshi Duludi* 戰士杜魯底 (The fighter Durruti). Shanghai: Pingming shudian, "Xibanya wenti xiao congshu" (Vol. 1), August 1938. Reprinted in April 1939.

Collection of eight texts: Lüdige'er (Helmut Rüdiger), "Bu'ainawentula Duludi de shengping" (The life of Buenaventura Durruti); Mengcaini (Federica Montseny), "Jinian Duludi tongzhi" (In memory of comrade Durruti); Jia'erxiya Eliwei'er (Juan García Oliver), "Xiang Duludi zhijing" (A tribute to Durruti); Aima Gaodeman (Emma Goldman), "Duludi bing meiyou si" (Durruti is dead, yet living); Aogusiding Suxi (Augustin Souchy), "Wo he Duludi de diyi ci huijian" (My first meeting with Durruti); Sangdiyang (Diego Abad de Santillán), "Yige bu si zai chuang shang de jiangjun" (A general who did not die in bed); Jili'er (Karrill), "Minzhong maizang tamende sizhe" (The people bury their dead hero); Ka'er Aiyinsitan (Carl Einstein), "Duludi zongdui" (The Durruti column). In the appendix is the account of Durruti's funeral given by Kaminski: Jiaminsiji, "Yige xingxiong de zangyi" (Funeral of a hero). The reedition of April 1939 contains another contribution, by Durruti's widow: Aimilin Molin (Émilienne Morin), "Gei shiqu de qin'aide ren" (To my departed beloved), taken from the London review *Spain and the World*.

Federica Montseny Mañé (Spain, Madrid, 1905 – France, Toulouse, 1994); Augustin Souchy (Silesia, Ratibor, 1892 – Germany, Munich, 1984); Diego Abad de Santillán (Sinesio García Hernández; Spain: Reyero, 1897 – Barcelona, 1983); Carl Einstein (Germany, Neuwied, 1885 – France, Betharram, 1940); Émilienne Morin (France: Angers, 1901 – Quimper, 1991).

Original: Contributions taken from: *Buenaventura Durruti* (Barcelona: Official Propaganda Service of CNT-FAI, 1937). Ba Jin has probably used the English version of this brochure, since the French version does not contain the speech of García Oliver nor the contribution of Karrill. The account by Kaminski had been previously published in *Literary Miscellany* 2, no. 1 (May 20, 1938), then in *Literature and Arts* 1, no. 1 (June 5, 1938), the one by Rüdiger, in *Beacons*, nos. 13–14 (May 1 and 10, 1938).

There is a Korean version of Ba Jin's translation: *Hyeongmyeongga eui saeng-ae* (The career of a revolutionary), trans. by Lee Hayu, Aemisa, Séoul, 1949.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 307–54. Translator's Preface (May 1938), with a marginal note (March 16, 1939) added to the text for the April 1939 reedition, also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 185–7.

104.
Xibanya zai qianjin zhong 西班牙在前進中 (Spain on the march), collection of photographs compiled by the propaganda services of the CNT-FAI. Shanghai: Pingming shudian, August 1938.

Translator's Afterword (May 20, 1938) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 188.

105.
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo (Fanzaidi), *Wode shenghuo gushi* 我的生活故事(The story of my life). Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, September 1940. Reprinted in October 1947.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 239–78 (the two letters written by Sacco to his son and daughter are in the appendix). Translator's Preface (July 1938) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 183–4.

106.
Rosselli, Carlo (Jia'erluo Luosaili 加爾洛.羅塞利). "Peidelabosi bingying—Xibanya riji zhiyi" 佩德拉伯司兵營一西班牙日記之一 (The columns of the Pedralbes barracks—Spain diary, first part), diary, translated from French in December 1938. *Literary Miscellany* 2, no. 4 (December 20, 1938). Reprinted in 1939 in *Spain Diary* (see no. 112).

Carlo Rosselli (Italy, Rome, 1899 – France, Bagnoles-de-l'Orne, 1937).

107.
Rosselli, Carlo (Jia'erluo Luosaili). "Xibanya riji de pianduan" 西班牙日記的片斷 (Extracts from a Spain diary), diary, translated from French in December 1938. *Literary Miscellany* 2, nos. 5–6 (January 20, 1939). Reprinted in 1939 in *Spain Diary* (see no. 112).

108.
Rocker, Rudolf (Ruoke'er). *Xibanya de douzheng* 西班牙的斗爭 (The struggle in Spain). Meiguo Jiujinshan chubanshe, "Xibanya wenti yanjiu xiao congshu" (Vol. 1), October 1938. Reprint: Pingming shudian, "Xibanya wenti xiao congshu" (Vol. 1), April 1939.

Original: *The Truth about Spain* (New York: Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 1936).

1939
109.
Souchy, Augustin (A. Suxi 蘇席). *Xibanya* (Spain). Pingming shudian, "Xibanya wenti xiao congshu" (1st Serie, Vol. 3), Shanghai, April 1939.

Includes: "Xibanya—yijiusanliunian qiyue dao yijiusanqinian qiyue" (Spain: from July 1936 to July 1937) (translated by Ba Jin on September 28, 1938); "Xibanya jinru yijiusanbanian" (Spain enters 1938) (translated by Ba Jin on September 29, 1938); "Jiamiluo Bai'ernaili" (Camillo Berneri) (translated by Ba Jin on November 1, 1938). The original version of the first text appeared in the form of a booklet: *Spain: July 19, 1936…July 19, 1937*, by A. Souchy, Barcelona, Spain, Libertarian Publishers, Auspices of the Anarchist Federation of America, New York, n.d. (1937).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 355–76. Translator's Afterword (January 15, 1939) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 189–90.

110.

Minnig, Albert (A. Mining). *Yige guoji zhiyuanjun de riji* (Diary of an international volunteer). Pingming shudian, "Xibanya wenti xiao congshu" (1st Serie, Vol. 4), April 1939. Reedition of the text previously published in *Beacons* 15 to 18 (June 11 to July 11, 1938). In the appendix: Feidelijia Mengcaini 菲德利加.孟蔡尼 (Federica Montseny), "Songbie guoji dui de zhiyuanbing" 送別國際隊的志願兵 (Farewell to volunteers of the international column).

Original: The text by Federica Montseny is entitled "La Despedida de los voluntarios internacionales" (Cultura proletaria, New York, December 24, 1938).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 377–422. Translator's Afterword (February 15, 1939) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 191–2.

111.

Rocker, Rudolf (Ruoke'er). *Xibanya de douzheng* 西班牙的斗爭 (The struggle in Spain). Pingming shudian, "Xibanya wenti xiao congshu" (Vol. 1), April 1939. Already published elsewhere: Meiguo Jiujinshan chubanshe, "Xibanya wenti yanjiu xiao congshu" (Vol. 1), October 1938.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 279–306. Translator's Preface (April 1, 1939) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 193–4.

112.

Rosselli, Carlo (C. Luosaili), *Xibanya de riji* 西班牙的日記 (Spain diary), diary, translated from French. Pingming, "Xibanya wenti yanjiu xiao congshu" (1st Series, Vol. 5), April 1939.

Takes up the texts previously published in *Literary Miscellany* 2, nos. 4 and 2, nos. 5–6 (December 20, 1938, and January 20, 1939), with a biographical notice of the author by A.T.

Original (Italian): "Diario di Spagna," *Giustizia e Libertà* (July 7 and 16, August 23, 1937). Ba Jin did not give the French source used by him.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 423–43. Translator's Preface (April 1939) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 195.

113.

A.T. [Alberto Tarchiani], "Jiaerluo Luosaili—zhenzheng de fanfaxizhuyizhe" 加爾洛.羅塞利一真正的反法西主義者 (Carlo Rosselli: The true anti-Fascist), translated from English. In *Spain Diary* (see no. 112).

Alberto Tarchiani (Italy, Rome: 1885–1964).

Original: "Carlo Rosselli: The True Anti-Fascist" (July 2, 1937), *Spain and the World*, London.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 423–43.

114.

Souchy, Augustin (A. Suxi), *Baseluona de wuyue shibian* 巴塞洛那的五月事變 (The May events in Barcelona). Pingming shudian, “Xibanya wenti xiao congshu” (1st Series, Vol. 6), April 1939.

Original: *The Tragic Week in May, Barcelona* (Oficina de Información Exterior de la CNT-FAI, 1937).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 8 (1997), 445–69. Translator’s Preface (April 1939) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 196.

115.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Wodi zizhuan* 我底自傳 (My autobiography), autobiography, revised translation. Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, May 1939 (five reprints by March 1947). New edition: Beijing: Sanlian shudian, October 1985.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 1 (1997), 1–508. Translator’s Preface (May 1939) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 197–9.

116.

Herzen, Alexander (Yalishanda He’ercen 亞歷山大. 赫爾岑). “Yige jiating de xiju (yi)” 一個家庭的戲劇（一）(A family drama (1)), recollections. *Wenxue jilin* 文學集林 (Literary forest), no.1 (Shanghai, November 1939).

117.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). “ ‘Huzhu lun’ yingwen pujiben xu” 《互助論》英文普及本序 (Preface to the English edition of Mutual aid, for a wider general public), translation completed in June 1939. In Kelupaotejin, *Huzhu lun* 互助論 (Mutual aid), trans. by Zhu Xi (Zhu Yuwen; 1900–1962). Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, *Complete Works of Kropotkin* (Vol. 6), December 1939.

1940

118.

Herzen, Alexander (Yalishanda He’ercen). “Yige jiating de xiju (er)” 一個家庭的戲劇（二）(A family drama (2)), recollections. *Literary Forest*, no. 2, (Shanghai, January 1940).

119.

Castelao (Jiasitelao). *Xibanya de kunan* 西班牙的苦難 (The pains of Spain). Shanghai: Pingming shudian, July 1940. Reprinted with other works in October 1948 under the title *The Blood of Spain* (see no. 168). Includes an Artist’s Preface (July 1937).

Complete Works of Ba Jin 17 (1991), 413–33.

120.
Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Mianbao yu ziyou* 麵包與自由 (Bread and freedom) (or, The conquest of bread), revised translation. Shanghai: Pingming shudian, August 1940 (Reprinted August 1948). New edition: Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1982.

The first tranlation of this book dates from 1927; it appeared under the title *Mianbao lüe qu* (Grab the bread) (see no. 016).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 9 (1997), 443–744. Translator's Preface (March 25, 1940) and Translator's Afterword (March 1940) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 200–3 and 204–5.

121.
Reclus, Élisée (Ailisai Shaokelü 愛利塞.邵可呂). "Ailisai Shaokelü xu (fawenben xu)" 愛利塞.邵可呂序（法文本序）(Preface by Elisée Reclus to the French edition)). In Kelupaotejin (Kropotkin), *Bread and Freedom* (see no. 120).

Élisée Reclus (France, Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, 1830 – Belgium, Torhout, 1905).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 9 (1997), 445–51.

122.
Rocker, Rudolf (Luduo'erfu Luoke'er). "Luduo'erfu Luoke'er xu (dewenben xu)" 魯多爾夫.若克爾序（德文本序）(Preface by Rudolf Rocker to the German edition). In Kelupaotejin (Kropotkin), *Bread and Freedom* (see no. 120).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 9 (1997), 473–85.

123.
Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen). *Yige jiating de xiju*一個家庭的戲劇 (A family drama), recollections. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Wenhua shenghuo congkan" (Vol. 26), August 1940. Reprinted: Guilin, January 1943; Shanghai, April 1947). New Edition as *Jiating de xiju* (Family drama): Shanghai, Pingming chubanshe, June 1954; Renmin wenxue chubanshe, March 1955; Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, July 1962.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 4 (1997), 569–726 (as *Family drama*), with a Translator's Additional Text (1979), "Guanyu 'Jiating de xiju'" (About A family drama) (723–6). Translator's Preface (Spring 1940) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 206–7.

124.
Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). *Lunlixue de qiyuan he fazhan* 倫理學的起源和發展 (Ethics: origin and development), revised translation. Chongqing: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Kelupaotejin quanji" (Vol. 10), June 1941.

Revised version of Kelupaotejin, *Rensheng zhexue: qi qiyuan ji qi fazhan* (*Philosophy of life: Origin and Development*), 2 vols., September 1928 and July 1929.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 1–468. Translator's Preface (June 24, 1940) and Translator's Afterword (June 18, 1940) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 217–22 and 223–5.

125.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). "Juyou de lunlixue" 居有的倫理學 (The ethics of Guyau), essay. *Zhongguo yu shijie* 中國與世界 (China and the world) 1 (July 1, 1940).

Original: chapter 15 of Kelupaotejin, *Ethics: Origin and Development*.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 409–21.

126.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). "Puludong de daode xueshuo 蒲魯東的道德學說" (The moral doctrine of Proudhon), essay, trans. by Feigan. *China and the World*, nos. 3–4 (September 10 and October 10, 1940).

Original: Revised version of *Puludong de rensheng zhexue* (The philosophy of life of Proudhon) (Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, Freedom Series (vol. 1), 1929.

127.

Pannizhe zhi ge 叛逆者之歌 (Rebellious songs), collection of poems. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Fanyi xiao wenku" (Vol. 2), September 1940 (reprinted in October 1947).

Includes: "Fu'erjia de yanshi shang" (On the rocks of the Volga), Russian song; "Volga, Volga," popular Russian song; "Missive to Siberia," by Puxijin (Pushkin); "Response to Pushkin," by a Decembrist; "Duantoutai shang" (On the scaffold), by Minakoff; "Xiangei Sufei Baertingna" (Dedicated to Sophia Bardina), by Polonsky; "Lucile Desmoulins," by Aimaniuai'er-De-Aisa'er (Emmanuel des Essarts); "Laodong ge" (Work song; Brot und Arbeit), by Georg Herwegh; "Yi Furuta Daijirô" (In memory of Furuta Daijirô), by Nakahama Tetsu; "Yiyan" (Testament), by Bai'ersensi (Albert P. Parsons); "Gei caipanguan" (To the judge), by an anonymous author.

Original: "On the Rocks of the Volga," "Volga,Volga," "Missive to Siberia," and "Response to Pushkin," "Lucile Desmoulins" and "Testament" are taken from previous publications. Minakoff's text comes probably from Jaakoff Prelooker, *Heroes and Heroines of Russia: Builders of a New Commonwealth.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd, n.d. (1908)). The text by Georg Herwegh (Germany: Suttgart, 1817 – Lichtenthal, 1876), the Hymn of Alliance of the General Association of German Workers, was composed in April 1864: "Bundeslied für den Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiterverein." Nakahama Tetsu (Japan: Fukuoka Prefecture, 1897 – Osaka, 1926), Japanese anarchist, was executed six months after the comrade to

whom he dedicates the poem. "A Farewell," (translated as "Testament" in this collection), a poem wrongly attributed to Albert P. Parsons (Bai'ersensi) (United States: Montgomery, 1848 – Chicago, 1887), was actually written by Marc Cook (1854–1882).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 435–69. Translator's Preface and Notices also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 208–16.

1942

128.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde 王爾德). "Zisi de juren" 自私的巨人 (The selfish giant), fairy tale, translation completed on March 18, 1942. *Wenyi zazhi* 文藝雜志 (Literature and arts magazine) 1, no. 5 (Guilin: July 15, 1942). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Oscar Wilde (Ireland, Dublin, 1854 – France, Paris, 1900).

Original: "The Selfish Giant" (1888).

129.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). *Kuaile wangzi* 快樂王子 (The happy prince), fairy tale, translation completed in March 1942. *Literature and arts Magazine* 1, no. 5 (Guilin: July 15, 1942). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Happy Prince" (1888).

130.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Yeying yu qiangwei" 夜鶯與薔薇 (The nightingale and the rose), fairy tale, translation completed in May 1942. Guilin: *Wenxue zazhi* (Literature magazine), Special Issue (July 1, 1943). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Nightingale and the Rose" (1888).

1943

131.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Fu yu zi* 父與子 (Fathers and sons), novel. Guilin: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Yiwen congshu" (Vol. 1), March 1943. New edition published in 1953 (see no. 186).

Original: Ba Jin had gathered several translations of this novel—which was originally published in 1862 (*Ottsy i déti*)—and besides the Berlin edition, he had collected three English versions, one French, one Esperanto and one Japanese. But at the time he was translating the text, he only had at hand the English version by Constance Garnett: Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1941). His own translation is thus based on this English version which he compared, for some passages, with the Russian edition of Turgenev's *Selected Works* published

in Leningrad in 1926, which he acquired a little later. Ba Jin proposed a new translation of *Fathers and Sons* in 1953.

Translator's Afterword (March 1943) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 226–7.

132.

Tirinaro, Dan. "Yindu" 印度 (India), poem, trans. from Esperanto. *Wenyi chuangzuo* 文藝創作 (Literary and artistic creation) no. 1 (August 1943).

Dan Tirinaro (Ĝong Sasop; Korea: 1910–1944), a Korean, Esperanto-speaking poet, who studied in France and was also called Jen Thirin.

Original: "Hindio," in Jen Thirin, *La liberpoeto*, La ilustrajoj estas desegnitaj de Solemio Palermo, kaj gravuritaj de Rolland Vidal. Paris: chez l'auteur, 1938.

133.

Storm, Theodor (Situomu 斯托姆, Sidumu 斯篤姆). *Chikai de qiangwei* 遲開的薔薇 (Late roses), collection of short stories. Chongqing: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Wenhua shenghuo congkan" (Vol. 1), November 1943. Reprints: Shanghai, Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, December 1945, November 1946, May 1948, November 1949, and June 1953.

Contains three works: "Late roses," "Ma'erte he tade zhong" (Marthe and her clock); "Fenghu" (The lake of the bees).

Theodor Storm (Germany: Husum, 1817 – Hanerau-Hademarschen, 1888).

Originals (German): "Späte Rosen" (1860), "Marthe und ihre Uhr" (1847), "Immensee" (1849).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 307–65. Translator's Afterword (September 1943) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 228.

134.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Chunü di* 處女地 (Virgin soil), novel. 3 vols. Chongqing: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Yiwen congshu" (Vol. 1), June–December 1944. Reprints: Guilin, Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, June 1944; Shanghai, Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, August 1946 (then March 1947 and June 1948). New edition: September 1950 (five reprints by May 1952).

Original: Ba Jin based his own translation of this 1877 novel—the Russian title is *Nov*—on two English translations for which he does not furnish the references. He also used the Chinese version by Guo Dingtang—alias Guo Moruo (1892–1978)—based on a German text, which had been published in *Xin shidai* (New era). Ba Jin proposed a new translation of *Virgin Soil* in 1973.

Translator's Foreword (November 1943) and Translator's Afterword (April 10, 1944) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 229 and 230.

135.

Storm, Theodor (Situomu). "Zai tingzi li" 在廳子裡 (In the drawing room), short story, translation completed in December 1943. *Dangdai wenyi* 當代文藝 (Contemporary literature and arts) 1, no. 2 (February 1, 1944).

Original: "Im Saal" (1849).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 367–74, as an annexe to *Chikai de qiangwei* (Late roses).

1945

136.

Dostoyevsky, Fyodor (Tuosituoyefusiji 陀斯妥也夫斯基). "Ma'ermienaduofu de gushi" 馬爾蔑那多夫的故事 (The story of Marmeladov). *Shi yu chao wenyi* 時與潮文藝 (Time and tide literature and art) 4, no. 5 (January 15, 1945).

Fyodor Dostoyevsky (Russia: Moscow, 1821 – Saint Petersburg, 1881).

Original: From *Crime and Punishment*, chap. 2.

Translator's Afterword in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 230.

137.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Jinian U. P. Fuliefusijijiaya nüshi" 紀念U.P.伏列夫斯基加亞女士 (To the memory of U.P. Vrevsky), poem in prose, translation completed in March 1945. *Guizhou ribao—Xinlei* 貴州日報.新壘 ("New ramparts," supplement to *Guizhou Daily*) (April 13, 1945). Reprinted in May 1945 in Tugeniefu, *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

138.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Fangwen 訪問" (The last meeting), poem in prose, translation completed in March 1945. "New Ramparts," supplement to *Guizhou Daily* (May 4, 1945). Reprinted in May 1945 in Tugeniefu *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

139.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Hai shang 海上" (On the sea), poem in prose, translation completed in March 1945. "New Ramparts," supplement to *Guizhou Daily* (June 22, 1945). Reprinted in May 1945 in Tugeniefu, *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

140.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Tianye 田野" (The countryside), poem in prose, translation completed in March 1945. "New Ramparts," supplement to *Guizhou Daily* (June 25, 1945). Also as "Xiangcun" (The fields), in Tugeniefu, *Poems in Prose*, May 1945 (see no. 143).

141.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Liangshou sihangshi 兩首四行詩" (Two stanzas), poem in prose. "New Ramparts," supplement to *Guizhou Daily* (June 26, 1945). Also as "Liangjie shi" 兩節詩 (Two poems), in Tugeniefu *Poems in Prose*, May 1945 (see no. 143).

142.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). "Jiaosi ta!" 絞死他(Hang him!), poem in prose, translation completed in March 1945. "New Ramparts," supplement to *Guizhou Daily* (June 26, 1945). Reprinted in May 1945 in Tugeniefu *Poems in Prose* (see no. 143).

143.
Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Sanwen shi* 散文詩 (Poems in prose), collection of prose poems. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Wenhua shenghuo congkan" (Vol. 31), May 1945. Reprints: December 1945 (2d ed.), June 1947 (3rd ed.), January 1949 (4th ed.). New edition: Hong Kong, Jianwen shuju, January 1959.

Original Title: *Stihotvorenia v proze: Senilia* (1878–1881). Includes: *Yibaqiba nian* (*1878*): "Xiangcun" (The country), "Duihua" (A conversation), "Laofu" (The 0ld woman), "Gou" (The dog), "Duishou" (My adversary), "Qigai" (The beggar), "Chunren de caipan" (Thou shalt hear the fool's judgment . . .), "Deyi de ren" (A contented man), "Chushi de fangfa" (A rule of life), "Shijie de mori" (The end of the world), "Maxia" (Masha), "Chunren" (The fool), "Yige dongfang de chuanshuo" (An eastern legend), "Liangshou sihangshi" (Two stanzas), "Maque" (The sparrow), "Toulugu" (The skulls), "Qiangwei" (The rose), "Zuihou de huiwu" (The last meeting), "Menkan" (The threshold), "Fangwen" (A visit), "*Necessitas, vis, libertas!*," "Shishe" (Alms), "Chong" (The insect), "Baicai tang" (Cabbage soup), "Weilanse wangguo" (The realm of azure), "Er fuhao" (Two rich men), "Laoren" (The old man), "Jizhe" (The reporter), "Liang xiongdi" (The two brothers), "Jinian You Bi Fulefusikaya" (To the memory of U.P. Vrevsky), "Lijizhuyizhe" (The egoist), "Dashen de yanhui" (The banquet of the supreme being), "Sifenkesi" (The sphinx), "Xiannü" (The nymphs), "You yu di" (Friend and enemy), "Jidu" (Christ); *Yibaqijiu-yibaba'er nian* (*1879–1882*): "Gan cuhuo de gongren tong bai shou ren" (The workman and the man with white hands), "Yanshi" (The stone), "Ge" (The doves), "Mingtian! Mingtian!" (Tomorrow! Tomorrow!), "Daziran" (Nature), "Jiao si ta" (Hang him!), "Wo yao xiang shenme ne" (What shall I think?), "Qiangweihua, duome mei, duome xianyan" (How fair, how fresh were the roses . . .), "Haishang" (On the sea), "Mumu" (To N. N.), "Liuzhu!" (Stay!), "Gaoseng" (The monk), "Women yao jixu fendou" (We will still fight on), "Qidao" (Prayer), "Eluosi yuyan" (The Russian tongue).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 3 (1997), 401–98. Translator's Afterword (March 1945) and Translator's marginal notes (1947) for the 3rd édition also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 232–4.

1946

144.

Rocker, Rudolf (Ruoke'er). "Ji'e" 飢餓 (Hunger), essay. In *Ziyou shijie* (Free world). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian, January 1946.

145.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Shaonian guowang" 少年國王 (The young king), fairy tale, translation completed in January 1946. *Shaonian duwu* 少年讀物 (Readings for youth) 2, no. 1 (February 1, 1946). Reprinted in 1948 in *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Young King" (1888).

146.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Zhongshi de pengyou" 忠實的朋友(The devoted friend), fairy tale, translation completed in February 1946. *Readings for Youth* 2, no. 3 (March 1, 1946). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Devoted Friend" (1888).

147.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Xinghai" 星孩 (The star-child), fairy tale, translation completed in March 1946. *Readings for Youth* 2, no. 4 (April 1, 1946). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Star-Child" (1891).

148.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Xibanya gongzhu de shengri" 西班牙公主的生日 (The birthday of the Infanta), fairy tale. *Readings for Youth* 2, nos. 5–6 (June 1, 1946). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Birthday of the Infanta" (1889).

149.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Liaobuqi de huojian" 了不起的火箭 (The remarkable rocket), fairy tale. *Readings for Youth* 3, no. 3 (September 1, 1946). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Original: "The Remarkable Rocket" (1888).

1947

150.

Kropotkin, Peter (Kelupaotejin). "Shehui biange yu jingji de gaizao" 社會變革與經濟的改造 (Social change and economic transformation), translated in March 1947. *Shijie yuekan* 世界月刊 (The world monthly) 1, nos. 9–10 (May and June 1947).

Original: The original text by Kropotkin, dated 5 December 1919, was published as a postface to the Russian edition of *The Words of a Revolutionary*. Petersburg-Moscow: Golos-Trouda, 1921.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 10 (1997), 503–17.

151.

Doyen, A. (A. Duoyang 多洋). "Ren zhi zi—Beiduowen" 人之子—悲多汶 (Son of man: Beethoven), translation completed in June 1947. *Renjian shi* 人間世 (The human world) no. 4 (June 20, 1947).

Albert Doyen (France, Vendresse: 1882 – Paris, 1935).

152.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Yuren he tade linghun" 漁人和他的靈魂 (The fisherman and his soul), fairy tale, translation completed in September 1947. In *The Happy Prince Collection*, March 1948 (see no. 157).

Original: "The Fisherman and His Soul" (1891).

153.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Sanwen shi sipian" 散文詩四篇 (Four poems in prose), prose poems, translation completed in October 1947. *The World Monthly* 2, no. 4 (November 1947). Reprinted in 1948 in Wang'erde, *The Happy Prince Collection* (see no. 157).

Includes: "Yishujia" (The artist), "Xingshanzhe" (The doer of good), "Dizi" (The disciple) and "Xiansheng" (The master).

154.

Nemirov, Dobri (Naimiluofu 奈米洛夫). "Xiao" 笑 (Laughter), short story, translation from Esperanto completed in November 1947. *Wenxun* 文訊 (Literary information) 8, no. 2 (February 15, 1948). Reprinted in 1948 (see no. 161).

Dobri Nemirov (Bulgaria: Ruse, 1882 – Sofia, 1945). The version in Esperanto (*Rido*) was by Ivan H. Krestanov (1890–1966) from the Bulgarian original, for the *Bulgara Antologio* (Sofia: Bulgara Esperanto-biblioteko, 1925, 194–201).

155.

Kuprin, Alexander (Kupulin 庫普林). "Baichi" 白痴 (The idiot), short story, translation from English completed in November 1947. *Wenyi chunqiu* 文藝春秋 (Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn)

6, no. 1 (January 19, 1948). Reprinted in 1948 (see no. 160).

Alexander Ivanovitch Kuprin (Russia: Narovchat, 1870 – Soviet Union, Leningrad, 1938).

Original: *The Idiot* (1896). Probably from *A Slav Soul, and Other Souls*, by Alexander Kuprin, with an introduction by Stephen Graham. London: Constable & company, Ltd., 1916.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 404–15.

156.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). "Caipan suo" 裁判所 (The house of judgment), "Zhihui de jiaoshi" 智慧的教師 (The teacher of wisdom), "Jiang gushi de ren" 講故事的人 (The man who tells stories), prose poems translated during the year. In *The Happy Prince Collection*, March 1948 (see no. 157).

1948

157.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). *Kuaile wangzi ji* 快樂王子集 (The happy prince collection), fairy tales and prose poems. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo, March 1948 (five reprints until May 1953). New revised edition, 1955 (see no. 187).

Includes nine fairy tales: " The Young King,", "The Birthday of the Infanta," "The Fisherman and his Soul,", The Star-child," "The Happy Prince," "The Nightingale and the Rose," "The Selfish Giant," "The Devoted Friend," and "The Remarkable Rocket," and seven essays: "The Artist," "The Doer of Good," "The Disciple," "Laoshi" (instead of "Xiansheng") (The master), "The House of Judgment," "The Teacher of Wisdom," and "The Man who Tells Stories."

Originals: from *The Happy Prince and other Tales* (1888), *A House of Pomegranates* (1891), and *Poems in Prose* (1894). "The Man who Tells Stories" does not belong to the series of the poems in prose; it was taken from a collection of prose poems edited by Raymond Bantock (1900–1988).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 125–306.

158.

Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Wo kaishi jiechu shenghuo" 我開始接觸生活 (My first contact with life), memoirs. "Literature and Arts," supplement to *Impartial Daily* (April 18, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 (see no. 169).

159.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Zhi" 紙 (Paper), memoirs. "Literature and Arts," supplement to *Impartial Daily* (May 23, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 (see no. 169).

160.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Chengjieshi—'Yu zhong ji' zhi yizhang" 懲戒室—《獄中記》之一章 (The disciplinary cell: a chapter of Prison memoirs), memoirs. *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* 6, no. 6 (June 15, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 (see no. 170).

161.
Nemirov, Dobri (Naimiluofu), et al. *Xiao* 笑 (Laughter), collection of short stories, translated from Esperanto or from English. Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Fanyi xiao wenku" (Vol. 10), June 1948. Works of Naimiluofu (Dobri Nemirov), Kupulin (A. Kuprin), Bolatesigu Funaisiti (I.A.L. Bratescu Voinesti), Ailuoxianke (Vasili Eroshenko).

Includes: "Laughter", by D. Nemirov; "The Idiot," by A. Kuprin, "The Death of Kastor" by A.L. Bratescu Voinesti; and "The Human Spirit of Jupiter," by V. Eroshenko. In the appendix is: "About Eroshenko," (March 1931), originally published under the title " 'The Boat of Happiness' by Eroshenko" (March 1930).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 389–434. Translator's Afterword and Notices also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 239–43.

162.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Palongdela" 帕龍德拉 (Polundra), memoirs. "Literature and Arts," supplement to *Impartial Daily* (July 14, 1948) Reprinted in 1949 in Feigenian'er, *Twenty Years in Prison* (see no. 170).

163.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Muqin de zhufu—'Yu zhong ji' zhi yizhang" 母親的祝福—《獄中記》之一章 (My mother's blessing: a chapter of Prison memoirs), memoirs. *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* 7, no. 1 (July 15, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 in Feigenian'er, *Twenty Years in Prison* (see no. 170).

164.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Gelaqiefusiji—'Yu zhong ji' zhi yizhang" 格拉切夫斯基—《獄中記》之一章 (Grachevsky: A chapter of Prison memoirs), memoirs, *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* 7, no. 2 (August 15, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 in Feigenian'er, *Twenty Years in Prison* (see no. 170).

165.
Sim (Xingmen). *Xibanya de shuguang* 西班牙的曙光 (The aurora of Spain), engravings, compiled in August 1948. Pingming shudian, "Xin yishu congkan" (Vol. 1), September 1948 (two reprints until March 1951). This book contains 31 drawings. It is the revised version of the work published in July 1938 by Pingming editions, under the title *The Dawn of Spain* (see no. 102).

Complete Works of Ba Jin 17 (1991), 435–501.

166.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Qianye" 前夜 (On the eve), memoirs. "Literature and Arts," supplement to *Impartial Daily* (September 12, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 in Feigenian'er, *Twenty Years in Prison* (see no. 170).

167.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Tongxin—'Yu zhong ji' zhi yizhang" 通信—《獄中記》之一章 (Correspondence: A chapter of Prison memoirs), memoirs. *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* 7, no. 3 (September 15, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 in Feigenian'er, *Twenty Years in Prison* (see no. 170).

168.
Castelao (Jiasitelao). *Xibanya de xue* 西班牙的血 (The blood of Spain), with an appendix *Xibanya de kunan* (The suffering of Spain). Pingming shudian, October 1948. Reprinted in March 1951.

Complete Works of Ba Jin 17 (1991), 413–33.

169.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). "Tiesiwang—'Yu zhong ji' zhi yizhang" 鐵絲網—《獄中記》之一章 (A wiry cobweb: a chapter of Prison memoirs), memoirs. *Wenhuibao—Wenyi* 文匯報—文藝 ("Literature and arts," supplement to *Wenhuibao*) (Hong Kong: October 21, 1948). Reprinted in 1949 in Feigenian'er, *Twenty Years in Prison* (see no. 170).

1949
170.
Figner, Vera (Weina Feigenian'er). *Yu zhong ershi nian* 獄中二十年 (Twenty years in prison), memoirs. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, "Yiwen congshu" (Vol. 1), February 1949. Five reprints until March 1953. New edition: Beijing: Sanlian shudian, December 1989.

Original: This is the Chinese version of book 2 of Vera Figner's memoirs (the translation of book 1 was in preparation). Ba Jin relied on the German and English translations of this work, which had been originally written in Russian:

Nacht über Russland: Lebenserinnerungen, teil 2, Aus dem Russischen von Lilly Hirschfeld Berlin: Malik, 1926; *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, authorized translation from the Russian/ London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., 1927. He used the title of the German edition, "20 Jahre in Kasematten" (the English version is entitled "When the Clock of Life Stopped"). In the appendix is one chapter taken from book 1: "Wode younian" (My childhood).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 9 (1997), 197–441. Translator's Afterword (September 1948) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 244–8.

171.

Rocker, Rudolf (Luduofu Luoke'er). "Fushide de lu—'Liuge renwu' zhi yi" 浮士德的路—《六個人物》之一 (The road of Faust: one of The six), essay. *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* 8, no. 2 (Shanghai: March 15, 1949). Reprinted in 1949 in Luduofu Luoke'er, *The Six* (see no. 173).

Original: Rudolf Rocker, *The Six*, trans. from German by Ray E. Chase, drawings by Doris Whitman Chase (Los Angeles, Calif.: Rocker Publications Committee, 1938).

Translator's Note in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 247.

172.

Rocker, Rudolf (Luduofu Luoke'er). "Dong Huan de lu—'Liuge renwu' zhi yi" 董.緩的路—《六個人物》之一 (The road of Don Juan: one of The six), essay. *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* 8, no. 3 (Shanghai: April 15, 1949). Reprinted in 1949 in Luduofu Luoke'er, *The Six* (see no. 173).

Original: Rudolf Rocker, *The Six*, trans. from German by Ray E. Chase, drawings by Doris Whitman Chase (Los Angeles, Calif.: Rocker Publications Committee, 1938).

173.

Rocker, Rudolf (Luduofu Luoke'er). *Liu ren* 六人 (The six), essays, drawings by Doris Whitman Chase. Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, September 1949 (two reprints until April 1951). New edition: Sanlian shudian, June 1985.

Includes: "Xiezi" (Prologue), "The Road of Faust," "The road of Don Juan," "Hamuleite de lu" (The road of Hamlet), "Dong Jihede de lu" (The road of Don Quixote), "Maida'erdusi de lu" (The road of Medardus), "Feng Afute'erdinggen de lu" (The road of Heinrich von Ofterdingen), "Juexing" (Éveil).

Original: Rudolf Rocker, *The Six*, trans. from German by Ray E. Chase, drawings by Doris Whitman Chase. Los Angeles, Calif.: Rocker Publications Committee, 1938; *Die Sechs*, illustriert v. Hans Breitenstein. Berlin: Der Syndikalist, Dichter und Rebellen, Band 7, 1928.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 375–566. Translator's Afterword (August 1949) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 248–51.

174.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Puning yu Babulin* 蒲寧與巴布林 (Punin and Baburin), short novel. Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe "Xin yiwen congkan" (Vol. 1), December 1949. Reprinted March 1953 and in 1959 in Tugeniefu, *Collection of short stories and novelettes by Turgenev* (see no. 191).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 2 (1997), 357–445. Translator's Afterword (November 20, 1949) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 252–3.

175.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Huiyi Qihefu* 回憶契訶夫 (Reminiscences of Chekhov), recollections. Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe, "Xin yiwen congkan" (Vol. 1), January 1950. With an appendix containing a text translated by Li Jianwu 李健吾 (1906–1982), "Qihefu zizhuan" 契訶夫自傳 (Chekhov's autobiography). Reprinted in 1959 in Gao'erji, *Selected Reminiscenses* (see no. 190) and in 1978 in Gao'erji, *Literary Portraits* (see no. 195).

Original: "Anton Tchekov," in Maxime Gorki, *Trois Russes: L. N. Tolstoi, A. Tchekov, Leonid Andreev*, 131–67. Translated from Russian by Dumesnil de Gramont. Paris: Gallimard, 1935.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 309–37. Translator's Afterword (December 1949) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 254.

1950

176.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Huiyi Tuo'ersitai* 回憶托爾斯泰 (Reminiscences of Tolstoy), recollections, translation completed in February 1950. Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe, "Xin yiwen congkan," April 1950. Reprinted in 1959 as "Liefu Tuo'ersitai" 列夫.托爾斯泰 (Leon Tolstoï) (see no. 189) and in 1978 in Gao'erji, *Literary Portraits* (see no. 195).

Original: "Léon Tolstoi," in Maxime Gorki, *Trois Russes: L. N. Tolstoi, A. Tchekov, Leonid Andreev*, translated from Russian by Dumesnil de Gramont, Gallimard, Paris, 1935. Ba Jin also relied on the English version: *Reminiscences of Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy*, authorized translation from the Russian by S.S. Koteliansky and Leonard Woolf, B.W. Huebsch, New York, 1920. This enabled him to note that there was a passage missing in the French version, which he reproduced in his postface.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 201–84. Translator's Afterword (February 1950) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 255–7.

177.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Huiyi Buluoke* 回憶布羅克 (Reminiscences of Blok), recollections, translation completed in May 1950. Pingming chubanshe, "Xin yiwen congkan," July 1950. Reprinted November 1950.

Original: "À propos d'Alexander Blok," in Maxime Gorki, *Notes et Souvenirs*, translated from the Russian by Dumesnil de Gramont (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1927).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 455–80. Translator's Afterword (May 1950,) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 258–9.

178.
Pavlovsky, Isaac (Bafuluofusiji 巴甫羅夫斯基). *Huiyi Tugeniefu* 回憶屠格涅夫 (Reminiscences of Turgenev), recollections. Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe, "Xin yiwen congkan," August 1950. Reprinted July 1953 and February 1954.

Isaac Iakovlevitch Pavlovsky (Russia, Taganrog, 1853 – France, Paris, 1924).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 3 (1997), 499–538. Translator's Afterword (August 8, 1950) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 260–1.

179.
Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Caoyuan ji* 草原集 (The Steppe collection), collection of short stories. Beijing: Kaiming shudian chubanshe, November 1950.

Includes: "Makar Chudra," "Yemeiliang Piliyayi" (Emelyan Pilyai), "A'erxipu yeye he Liao'enka"(Grandfather Arkhip and Lenka), "Ying zhi ge" (The song of the falcon), "Yizeji'er laopozi" (Old Izergil), "Keliusha (suxie)" (Kolusha (draft)), "Kehan he tade erzi" (The Khan and his son), "Because of Monotony," "Caoyuan shang" (In the Steppe), "Yige ren de dansheng" (A man is born), "Yishou gezi shi zenyang biancheng de" (How a song was composed).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 1–198 under its former title *Stories of the Steppe*. Translator's Afterword (September 15, 1950) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 262–3.

180.
Garshin, Vsevolod (Jia'erxun). *Honghua* 紅花 (The scarlet blossom), two short stories. Shanghai chuban gongsi, "Shijie wenxue congshu," Shanghai, November 1950 (5th ed.: September 1953).

Includes: "The Scarlet Blossom" and "The Signal."

Originals (English): "The Scarlet Blossom" and "The Signal," in Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin, *The Signal, and Other Stories*, translated from the Russian by Captain Rowland Smith. London: Duckworth & Co., 1912.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 3–36. Translator's Afterword (October 8, 1950) in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 264.

1951

181.

Garshin, Vsevolod (Jia'erxun). *Yijian yiwai shi* 一件意外事 (An incident), two short stories. Shanghai: Shanghai chuban gongsi, "Shijie wenxue congshu," Shanghai, June 1951. 4th ed., September 1953.

Includes: "An Incident" and "Junguan he qinwubing" (Officer and soldier-servant). "An Incident" has been reproduced in *Waiguo duanpian xiaoshuo* 外國短篇小說 (Foreign short stories), Vol. 2. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, October 1978.

Originals (English): "An Incident" and "Officer and Soldier-Servant," in Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin, *The Signal, and Other Stories*, translated from the Russian by Captain Rowland Smith. London: Duckworth & Co., 1912.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 37–61 and 62–81. Translator's Afterword (March 1951) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 265–7.

182.

Tolstoy, Aleksey (A. Tuo'ersitai). *Dandong zhi si* 丹東之死 (The death of Danton), twelve-act play, translated from Esperanto. Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, October 1951. 1st ed.: July 1930 (see no. 070).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 7 (1997), 95–193. Translator's Afterword (September 9, 1951) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 268.

183

Garshin, Vsevolod (Jia'erxun). *Laihama he meiguihua* 癩蝦蟆和玫瑰花 (A toad and a rose), translated in November 1951. Shanghai: Shanghai chuban gongsi, "Shijie wenxue congshu," January 1952.

Includes: "A Toad and a Rose," "Ataleya Bulinsebusi" (Attalea Princeps, 1879), "Bing meiyou de shi" (That which was not, 1882), "Lüxing de wa" (The frog who travelled).

Originals (English): "A Toad and A Rose," "Attalea Princeps," "Make Believe (That Which Was Not)" and "The Frog Who Travelled," in Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin, *The Signal, and Other Stories*, translated from the Russian by Captain Rowland Smith (London: Duckworth & Co., 1912).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 82–91, 92–102, 103–8 and 109–15. Translator's Afterword (November 1951) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 269–73.

1952

184.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Mumu* 木木 (Mumu) (1852), short story, translated in January 1952. Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe, "Xin yiwen congkan," May 1952. 7th ed.:

August 1955. Reprints: Zuojia chubanshe, November 1955; Renmin wenxue chubanshe, "Wenxue xiao congshu" (102), April 1959. New edition in 1959 (see no. 191).

Originals (English): "Mumu," in Turgenev, *The Torrents of Spring*, trans. by Constance Garnett. London: Heinemann, 1897.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 2 (1997), 313–56. Translator's Afterword (January 1952) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 274–5.

185.

Amado, Jorge (Qiaozhi Yamaduo 喬治.亞瑪多). "Zai baowei heping douzheng zhong Lading Meizhou de zuojia he yishujia" 在保衛和平斗爭中拉丁美洲的作家和藝術家 (The writers and artists who fight for the preservation of peace in Latin America), essay. *Wenyibao* 文藝報 (Literary gazette) no. 59 (1952/6; March 25, 1952): 34–5.

Jorge Amado (Brazil, State of Bahia: Ilhéus, 1912 – Salvador, 2001).

1953

186.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Fu yu zi* 父與子 (Fathers and sons), novel, new version. Pingming chubanshe, May 1953. The first version was published in 1943 (see no. 131).

1955

187.

Wilde, Oscar (Wang'erde). *Kuaile wangzi ji* 快樂王子集 (The happy prince collection), fairy tales and prose poems. Shanghai: Pingming chubanshe, revised version, August 1955. First edition, March 1948 (see no. 157). Many bowdlerized versions: December 1957, July 1959, September 1981; Shanghai: Xin wenyi chubanshe, Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, Sichuan Renmin chubanshe and Shanghai: Shaonian ertong chubanshe.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 6 (1997), 125–306. Translator's Additional Note (May 1955) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 276.

1956

188.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Duanpian xiaoshuo ji* 短篇小說集 (Collection of short stories), short stories, trans. by Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 (1899–1935) and by Ba Jin. Renmin wenxue chubanshe, December 1956. Ba Jin translated eleven pieces, including five taken from Gao'erji, *The Steppe Collection* (see no. 179).

1958

189.

Kuprin, Alexander (Kupulin). "Baichi" (The idiot), short story. *Wenyi shijie* 文藝世界 (World of literature and art) (Hong Kong, July 1, 1958). Translated from English

in November 1947; already published in 1948 in Naimiluofu (Dobri Nemirov) et al. in *Laughter* (see no. 161) and in *Literature and Arts Spring and Autumn* (see no. 155).

190.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Huiyilu xuan* 回憶錄選 (Selected reminiscences), recollections, trans. by Ba Jin and by Cao Baohua 曹葆華 (1906–1978). In *Gao'erji xuanji.* (Selected works by Gorky). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, May 1959. Reprinted in June 1961. Reprinted as *Literary Portraits* in October 1978 (see no. 195).

Includes eight texts: "Liefu Tuo'ersitai" (Lev Tolstoï), "Suofeiya Andelieyefuna, Tuo'ersitai furen" (Sophia Andreevna, Madam Tolstoï), "Andong Qikefu" (Anton Tchekhov), "Keluolianke shidai" (Korolenko and his time), "Fu. Jia. Keluolianke" (V.G. Korolenko), "Mi. Mi. Keqiubinsiji" (Mikhail Kotsubinsky), "Nikela Jialing-Mihayiluofusiji" (Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky) and "Mihayi'er Pulishiwen" (Mikhail Prishvin).

Original: From Maxim Gorky, *Literary Portraits*, translated from the Russian by Ivy Litvinov. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d. English originals: "Lev Tolstoi," "Sophia Tolstaya," "Anton Chekhov," "Vladimir Korolenko and his Time," "Vladimir Korolenko," "Mikhail Kotsubinsky," "Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky" and "Mikhail Prishvin."

191.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Tugeniefu zhong-duanpian xiaoshuo ji* 屠格涅夫中短篇小說集 (Collection of short stories and novelettes by Turgenev), short stories and novelettes, trans. by Xiao Shan and Ba Jin. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, September 1959. New edition: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, August 1981. Reprint: September 1982.

Contains seven pieces, among which two were translated by Ba Jin: "Mumu" and "Punin and Baburin." Xiao Shan (1921–1972), whose real name was Chen Yunzhen, was Ba Jin's wife. They had married in 1944.

1973

192.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Chunü di* 處女地 (Virgin soil), novel (new version completed at the end of 1973 and revised in September of the following year). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, February 1978 (reprints: January 1982; July 1991). The first translation of this work had been carried out in 1943 and published in 1944 (see no. 134).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 3 (1997), 1–400. Translator's Afterword (August 1974) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 277–9 (but erroneously dated 1975).

1974

193.

Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen). *Wangshi yu suixiang* 往事與隨想 (My past and thoughts), recollections. Ba Jin started translating this work at the end of the year. Books I and II were to be completed in 1977, but actually were not completed until 1979 (see no. 197). Parts of Book III were published in 1980 (see no. 198), while the remaining chapters did not appear until 1997 (see no. 198 and no.200).

Original: *Byloe i dumy* (1868). Ba Jin's translation is based primarily on the English version: *My past and thoughts, the memoirs of Alexander Herzen*; the authorised translation; translated from the Russian by Constance Garnet, 5 vol. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1924–1926.

1977

194.

Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen). *Wangshi yu suixiang* 往事與隨想 (My past and thoughts), recollections, chaps. 3 and 6 (Book I). *Shijie wenxue* (World literature) 2 (December 15, 1977). With a Translator's Foreword (June 15, 1977). Reprinted in *Ba Jin jinzuo* 巴金近作 (Ba Jin's recent works), 100–58. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, August 1978.

1978

195.

Gorky, Maxim (Gao'erji). *Wenxue xiezhao* 文學寫照 (Literary portraits), essays. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, October 1978. Previously published as *Selected reminiscences*, May 1959 (see no. 190).

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 5 (1997), 199–454.

196.

Turgenev, Ivan (Tugeniefu). *Fu yu zi* 父與子 (Fathers and sons), novel, version revised in 1978 and published, together with *On the Eve*—novel, trans. by Lini (Guo Anren, 1909–1968)—under the title *On the Eve / Fathers and Sons*. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, September 1979. Reprint June 1989.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 2 (1997), 1–311. Translator's Afterword (September 8, 1978) also in *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 17 (1991), 284–8.

1979

197.

Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen). *Wangshi yu suixiang* 往事與隨想 (My past and thoughts), recollections, Books I and II. Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen chubanshe, October 1979.

Book I, chapters 1 to 7; Book II, chapters 8 to 18.

Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin 3 (1997), 13–270. Translator's Foreword (June 15, 1977) and Translator's Afterwords (I and II) (September 17, 1978; May 30, 1979), 280–3, 289–95 and 296–7.

198.

Herzen, Alexander (He'ercen). *Wangshi yu suixiang* (*xuanyi*) 往事與隨想（選譯）(My past and thoughts (selected translations)), recollections, chaps. 19 and 20 (Book III), translation completed in September 1979. *Sulian wenxue* 蘇聯文學 (Soviet literature) 1 (February 15, 1980), Beijing Normal University.

The third book of Herzen's memoirs (chapters 19 to 21, and appendixes) would be first published in the *Complete Works Translated by Ba Jin* 4 (1997), 487–549, with a postface dated 16 September 1979.

1991

199.

Ba Jin yiwen xuanji 巴金譯文選集 (Ba Jin's selected translations). 2 vols. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, December 1991.

Vol. 1.—Tugeniefu (Turgenev): *Mumu*, *Poems in Prose*, *The Threshold*; He'ercen (Alexander Herzen), *A Family Drama*; Jia'erxun (Vsevolod Garshin), *The Scarlet Blossom*.

Vol. 2.—Gao'erji (Maxim Gorky): *Stories of the Steppe, and Other Stories*; Liao Kangfu (Leopold Kampf), *Before the Night Ends*; Wang'erde (Oscar Wilde), *Tonghua yu sanwen shi* (Fairy tales and poems in prose); Situomu (Theodor Storm), *Late Roses;* and Youli Baji (Julio Baghy), *Spring in Autumn.*

1997

200.

Ba Jin yiwen quanji 巴金譯文全集 (Complete works translated by Ba Jin).10 vols. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, June 1997.

Vol. 1.—Kelupaotejin (Kropotkin), *My Autobiography*.

Vol. 2.—Tugeniefu (Turgenev): *Fathers and sons; Mumu; Punin and Baburin; The Threshold*.

Vol. 3.—Tugeniefu (Turgenev), *Virgin Soil* and *Poems in Prose*; Bafuluofusiji (Isaac Pavlovsky), *Reminiscences of Turgenev*.

Vol. 4.—He'ercen (Alexander Herzen): *My Past and Thoughts; A Family Drama*.

Vol. 5.—Gao'erji (Maxim Gorky): *Stories of the Steppe and Other Stories, Literary Portraits*, and *Reminiscences of Blok*; Tuoluosiji (Trotsky), "On Tolstoy," Ishikawa Sanshirô, *The Death of Ikuta*.

Vol. 6.—Jia'erxun (Vsevolod Garshin), *The Scarlet Blossom*; Wang'erde (Oscar Wilde), *The Happy Prince*; Situomu (Theodor Storm), *Late Roses*; Luduofu Luoke'er (Rudolf Rocker) *The Six*.

Vol. 7.—Akita Ujaku, *Skeleton Dance*; Yamiqisi (Edmondo de Amicis), *The Flowers of Passers-by*; A. Tuo'ersitai (Aleksey Tolstoy), *The Death of Danton*; Liao Kangfu (Leopold Kampf), *Before the Night Ends*; Youli Baji (Julio Baghy), *Spring in Autumn*; Naimiluofu (Dobri Nemirov) et al., *Laughter; Rebellious Songs.*

Vol. 8.—Sitepuniyake (Stepniak), *Underground Russia*; Fanzaidi (Bartolomeo Vanzetti), *The Story of My Life*; Ruoke'er (Rudolf Rocker), *The Struggle in Spain*; Gaodeman (Emma Goldman) et al., *The Fighter Durruti*; A. Suxi (Augustin Souchy), *Spain*; A. Mining (Albert Minnig), *Diary of an International Volunteer*; C. Luosaili (Carlo Rosselli), *Spain Diary*; A. Suxi (Augustin Souchy), *Barcelona May Events.*

Vol. 9.—Baikeman (Alexander Berkman), *Prison memoirs*; Weina Feigenian'er (Vera Figner), *Twenty Years in Prison*; Kelupaotejin (Peter Kropotkin), *Bread and Freedom.*

Vol. 10.—Kelupaotejin (Peter Kropotkin)*: Ethics: Origin and Development, An Appeal to the Young*, and "Social Change and Economic Transformation."

Works Cited*

* '*Complete Works of Ba Jin*' in the entries below refers to Ba 1986–94a.

Alexandra [pseud.] 1880. *Lettres d'une nihiliste* (Letters from a nihilist). Paris: Messageries des journaux.

Aliz [pseud.] 阿利茲. 1928. "Kexue de wuzhengfuzhuyi zhi zhanlüe" 科學的無政府主義之戰略 (The strategy of scientific anarchism), trans. Feigan. In *Geming zhi lu* 革命之路 (The road to revolution). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian.

Avrich, Paul. 2005. *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America.* Oakland: AK Press.

Ba, Jin 巴金. [1928] 1986–94. *Miewang* 滅亡 (Destruction). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 4: 1–161.

———. [1930a] 1986–94. "Chulian" 初戀 (First love). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 9: 144–57.

———. 1930b. *Cong zibenzhuyi dao annaqizhuyi* 從資本主義到安那其主義 (From capitalism to anarchism). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian.

———. [1931a] 1986–94. "Gou" 狗 (The dog). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 9: 212–21.

———. [1931b] 1986–94. *Siqu de taiyang* 死去的太陽 (The dead sun). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 4: 327–428.

———. [1931c] 1986–94. "Yali'anna" 亞麗安娜 (Aniela). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 9: 133–43.

———. [1932a] 1986–94. “Fu yu zi” 父與子 (Fathers and sons). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 9: 334–55.

———. [1932b] 1986–94. *Hai di meng* 海底夢(A dream on the sea). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 5: 1–92.

———. [1932c] 1986–94. “Zai menkan shang” 在門檻上 (On the threshold). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 10: 103–19.

———. [1932d] 1986–94. “Zui yu fa” 罪與罰 (Crime and punishment). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 9: 356–82.

———. 1934a. *Ba Jin zizhuan* 巴金自傳 (Autobiography of Ba Jin). Shanghai: Diyi chubanshe.

———. [1934b] 1986–94. “Gei E.G.” 給 E.G. (To E.G.) (July 4). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 10: 3–6.

———. [1935a] 1986–94. “‘Aiqing de sanbuqu’ zongxu”《愛情的三部曲》總序 (General preface to The love trilogy). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 6: 3–46.

———. [1935b] 1986–94. *Eguo shehui yundong shihua* 俄國社會運動史話 (History of the Russian social movement). Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe. In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 21 : 515–637.

———. [1935c] 1986–94. “‘Menkan’ qianji” 《門檻》前記 (Preface to The threshold). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 164–5.

———. [1935d] 1986–94. “‘Pianduan de huiyi’ houji” 《片斷的回憶》后記 (Postscript to Fragmentary recollection). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 161.

———. [1935e] 1986–94. “Xiaoxiao de jingyan” 小小的經驗 (A minute experience). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 12: 408–15.

———. [1935f] 1986–94. “Zai menkan shang” 在門檻上 (On the threshold) essay 散文 (Prose). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 12: 425–9.

———. [1936a] 1986–94. “‘Eguo xuwuzhuyi yundong shihua’ houji” 《俄國虛無主義運動史話》后記 (Postscript to History of the Russian nihilist movement) In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 175–76.

———. [1936b] 1986–94. “Da Xu Maoyong bing tan Xibanya de lianhe zhanxian” 答徐懋庸并談西班牙的联合戰線 (In reply to Xu Maoyong and about the united Spanish front). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 18: 374–81.

———. [1936c] 1986–94. *Lina* 利娜 (Lina). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 5: 424–94.

———. [1936d] 1986–94. *Sheng zhi chanhui* 生之懺悔 (Confessions of a life) In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 12: 231–334.

———. [1936e] 1986–94. “‘Weile zhishi yu ziyou de yuangu’ qianji” 《為了知識與自由的緣故》前記 (Preface to For the sake of knowledge and freedom) by Jaakoff Prelooker. In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 171.

———. [1937a] 1986–94. *Kongsu* 控訴 (J’accuse). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 12: 517–83.

———. [1937b] 1986–94. "'Si zhi chanhui' houji" 《死之懺悔》后記 (Postscript to Confessions of a death). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 320–3.

———. [1937c] 1986–94. "'Ye wei yang' houji" 《夜未央》后記 (Postscript to *On the eve*). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 182.

———. 1938. Meng yu zui 夢與醉 (Dreaming and drunkenness). [n.p.]: Kaiming shudian.

———. [1939] 1986–94. "'Wode zizhuan' xinban qianji" 《我的自傳》新版前記 (Preface to the new edition of My autobiography) by Peter Kropotkin. In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 197–9.

———. [1940a] 1986–94. "'Mianbao yu ziyou' houji" 《面包與自由》后記 (Postscript to Bread and liberty). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 204–5.

———. [1940b] 1986–94. "'Lunlixue de qiyuan he fazhan' houji" 《倫理學的起源和發展》后記 (Postscript to Ethics: origin and development). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 223–5.

———. [1943a] 1986–94. "'Chikai de qiangwei' houji 《遲開的薔薇》 后記 (Postscript to Late roses). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 228.

———. [1943b] 1986–94. "'Chunü di' qianji" 《處女地》前記 (Preface to Virgin soil). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 229.

———. [1944] 1986–94. "'Chunü di' houji" 《處女地》后記 (Postscript to Virgin soil). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 230.

———. [1950] 1986–94. "'Caoyuan ji' houji" 《草原集》后記 (Postscript to The steppe). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 262–3.

———. [1951a] 1986–94. "'Mumu' houji" 《木木》后記 (Postscript to Mumu). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 274–55.

———. [1951b] 1986–94 "'Laihama he meigui hua' houji"《癩蝦蟆和玫瑰花》后記 (Postscript to The toad and the rose). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 269–73.

———. [1958a] 1962. "Tan 'Miewang'" 談《滅亡》(Regarding *Destruction*). In *Ba Jin wenji* 巴金文集 (Works of Ba Jin), 14: 303–20. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

———. [1958b] 1986–94. "Tan wode duanpian xiaoshuo" 談我的短篇小說 (On my short stories). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 20: 515–29.

———. [1958c] 1986–94. "Tan wode sanwen" 談我的散文 (On my prose). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin,* 20: 530–43.

———. [1961] 1986–94. "*Tan 'Xinsheng' ji qita*" 談《新生》及其他 (Regarding Resurrection and others). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 20: 395–413.

———. 1971. "Rencontre avec Ba Jin: un romancier chinois à Paris." (Meeting with Ba Jin: a Chinese novelist in Paris). Interview by Pierre-Jean Rémy. *Le Monde* ("Le Monde des livres"), May 18.

———. [1977] 1986–94. "'Wangshi yu shensi' (xuanyi) yizhe shuoming" 《往事與深思》（選譯）譯者說明 (My past and thoughts (excerpts): presentation by the translator). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 280–3.

———. [1978] 1986–94. "'Wangshi yu suixiang' houji (yi)" 《往事與隨想（一）》后記 (Postscript to My past and thoughts, 1). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 289–95.

———. [1979] 1986–94. "Guanyu 'Hai di meng'" 關於《海底夢》(Concerning A dream on the sea). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 20: 598–609.

———. [1980a] 1986–94. "Shijieyu" 世界語 (Esperanto) In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 16: 224–8.

———. [1980b] 1986–94. "'Tansuo ji' houji" 《探索集》后記 (Postscript to Research). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 16: 272–5.

———. [1980c] 1986–94. "Zai tan tansuo" 再談探索 (Research, continuation). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 16: 175–99.

———. [1981] 1986–94. "Ying de ge" 鷹的歌 (Song of the falcon). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 16: 344–5.

———. [1983] 1986–94. "Wode mingzi" 我的名字 (My name). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 16: 524–77.

———. 1985. "On Autumn in Spring." In *Autumn in Spring and Other Stories*, 126–32. Beijing: Chinese Literature, Panda Books.

———. [1986] 1986–94. "Wo yu Kaiming" 我與開明 (Kaiming and I). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 16: 664–74.

———. 1986–94a. *Ba Jin quanji* 巴金全集 (Complete works of Ba Jin). 26 vol. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

———. 1986–94b. "Wodi zizhuan' yihouji" 《我底自傳》譯后記 (Postscript to the translation of My autobiography), by Peter Kropotkin. In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 133–5.

———. [1991] 1986–94. "'Ba Jin yiwen xuanji' xu" 《巴金譯文選集》序 (Preface to Selected translations by Ba Jin). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 298–302.

———. 2003. *Ba Jin, Yijian xinbian* 巴金 佚簡新編 (Ba Jin: New edition of lost correspondence), ed. Li Cunguang 李存光. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe.

———. 2005. *Selected Works of Ba Jin*, vol. 4. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.

———, trans. 1991. *Ba Jin yiwen xuanji* 巴金譯文選集 (Selected translations by Ba Jin). 2 vols. Beijing: Sanlian shudian.

———, trans. 1997. *Ba Jin yiwen quanji* 巴金譯文全集 (Complete works translated by Ba Jin). 10 vols. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

———, trans. 2003. *Ba Jin yiwen xuanji*. 巴金譯文選集 (Selected translations by Ba Jin). Ba Jin baisui huadan jinian wencong (Collection in commemoration of Ba Jin's hundredth anniversary). Beijing: Sanlian shudian.

Berkman, Alexander. 1929. *What is Communist Anarchism?* New York: Vanguard Press.

———. 1936. *Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism*. New York: Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

CIRA (International Center for Research on Anarchism, Lausanne). Cote: Ac004.

Eltzbacher, Paul. 1923. *L'Anarchisme*, trans. Otto Karmin. Paris: Marcel Giard.

Feigan 芾甘 [Ba Jin]. 1922. "Tuo'ersitai de shengping he xuesho" 托爾斯泰的生平和學說 (The life and doctrine of Tolstoy). *Pingmin zhi sheng* 平民之聲 (Voice of the common people), vols. 4–6.

———. 1926a. "Kexue yu wuzhengfuzhuyi" 科學與無政府主義 (Science and anarchism), *Minzhong* 民鐘 (People's tocsin) 1, no. 16 (December 15).

———. [1926b] 1986–94. "'Mianbao lüequ' yizhe xu" 《面包略取》譯者序 (Translator's foreword to The conquest of bread). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 94–6.

———. [1926c] 1986–94. "Wuzhengfuzhuyi de jiejixing" 無政府主義的階級性 (The character of class in anarchism). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 18: 102–9.

———. [1927] 1986–94. "Wuzhengfuzhuyi yu kongbuzhuyi—fu Taiyi tongzhi de yifeng xin" 無政府主義與恐怖主義——覆太一同志的一封信 (Anarchism and terrorism—in reply to the letter from comrade Taiyi), *Minzhong* 民鐘 (People's tocsin), 2, nos. 6–7 (15 July). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 21: 248–57.

———. [1929a] 1986–94. "Du Batai Zhousan shi di 'Rensheng zhexue' xin yi ben" 讀八太舟三氏底《人生哲學》新譯本 (Reading of the new translation by M. Hatta Shūzō of The philosophy of life). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 18: 232–4.

———. 1929b. *Duantoutai shang* 斷頭臺上 (On the scaffold). Shanghai: Ziyou shudian.

———. [1929c] 1986–94. "Guanyu 'Rensheng zhexue' de zhongyiben—fu Zhongtian de laixin" 關於《人生哲學》的中譯本——復中天的來信 (Concerning the Chinese translation of The philosophy of life: reply to Zhongtian). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 18: 223–8.

———. [1930] 1986–94. "'Cong zibenzhuyi dao annaqizhuyi' xu"《從資本主義到安那其主義》序 (Preface to From capitalism to anarchism). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 5–7.

Fontenis, Georges. 1990. *L'Autre communisme: histoire subversive du mouvement libertaire*. (The other communism: subversive history of the libertarian movement). Mauléon: Acratie.

Freedom: A Hundred Years, October 1886 to October 1986. 1986. London: Freedom Press.

Heilang 黑浪 [Ba Jin]. 1928. "Wuzhengfuzhuyi yu gongtuanzhuyi" 無政府主義與工團主義 (Anarchism and syndicalism), *Pingdeng* 平等 (Equality) 1, no. 12 (July).

Higuchi, Susume. 1986. "Ba Jin he wuzhengfuzhuyi" 巴金和無政府主義 (Ba Jin and anarchism), trans. from Japanese Li Qing 李慶. In Zhang Lihui 張立慧 and Li Jin 李今, eds. *Ba Jin yanjiu zai guowai* 巴金研究在國外(Ba Jin's studies abroad), 252–99. Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe.

Kelupaotejin 克魯泡特金 [Kropotkin]. 1948. *Yige Fankangzhe de hua* 一個反抗者的話 (Words of a rebel), trans. Bi Xiushao 畢修勺, preface by Li Feigan 李芾甘 [Ba Jin]. In *Kelupaotejin quanji* 克魯泡特金全集 (Complete works of Kropotkin), vol. 3. Shanghai: Pingming shudian.

Kropotkin, Peter. 1905. *Russian Literature*. London: Duckworth & Co.

Lang, Olga. 1967. *Pa Chin and his Writings: Chinese Youth between the Two Revolutions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lao, Bai 勞白. 1979. "Fang zuojia Ba Jin" 訪作家巴金 (Visit to the writer Ba Jin). *Zhongguo baodao* 中國報道 (El Popola cinio, From people's China) no. 9.

Le Libertaire Group. 1979. *A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in Japan*. Tokyo: The Idea Publishing House.

Leys, Simon. 1998. "L'Expérience de la traduction littéraire." (The experience of literary translation). In *L'Ange et le cachalot* (The angel and the octopus), 137–58. Paris: Le Seuil.

Li, Feigan 李芾甘 [Ba Jin]. [1928] 1986–94. "Yibusheng di 'si da shehui ju' yi hou" 易卜生底《四大社會劇》譯后 (Translator's postscript to Four social plays by Ibsen), *Yiban* 一般 4, no. 3. In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 17: 120.

———. 1930. *Eluosi shi nü jie* 俄羅斯十女杰 (Ten Russian heroines). Shanghai: Taipingyang shudian.

Li, Jisheng 李濟生, ed. 2003. *Ba Jin yu wenhua shenghuo chubanshe* 巴金與文化生活出版社 (Ba Jin and the Culture and Life Press). Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.

Li, Pey Kan [Ba Jin]. [1948] 1949. Letter to *Delo Trouda*, March 27. *Delo Trouda* (The cause of labor) 31 (December): 28.

Liao, Kangfu 廖抗抗 [Leopold Kampf]. [1908] 1928. *Ye wei yang* 夜未央 (On the eve), trans. Li Shizeng 李石曾 (Li Yuying 李煜瀛). Canton: Gexin shuju. Originally published in the review *Xin Shiji* 新世紀 (New century), Paris.

Lo, Ta-kang [Luo Dagang 羅大岡]. 1987. *Rose et vase nocturne*. Lyon: Roncevaleries, éditions Traitement de textes.

Lundberg, Lennart. 1993. *Lu Xun As a Translator: Lu Xun's Translation and Introduction of Literature and Literary Theory, 1903–1936*. Stockholm: Orientaliska Studiers skriftserie 23.

Mao, Nathan K. 1978. *Pa Chin*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Müller, Gotelind. 2001. *China, Kropotkin und der Anarchismus: Eine Kulturbewegung im China des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts unter dem Einfluß des Westens und japanischer Vorbilder*. (China, Kropotkin and anarchism: a cultural movement in China of the early twentieth century under the influence of Western and Japanese models). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Müller, Gotelind, and Gregor Benton. 2006a. "Esperanto and Chinese anarchism, 1907–1920: The translation from diaspora to homeland." *Language Problems & Language Planning* 30, no. 1: 45–73.

———. 2006b. "Esperanto and Chinese anarchism in the 1920s and 1930s." *Language Problems & Language Planning* 30, no. 2: 173–92.

Nettlau, Max. [1897] 1978. *Bibliographie de l'anarchie*. Reprint. Geneva: Mégariotis.

Ng, Mau-sang. 1988. *The Russian Hero in Modern Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong and New York: The Chinese University Press and State University of New York Press.

Pino, Angel. 1990. "Ba Jin, sur l'origine d'un nom de plume" (Ba Jin, on the origin of a pseudonym). *Études chinoises* (Chinese studies) 9, no. 2 (Autumn): 61–74.

———, ed. Forthcoming. *L'Anar et le Missionnaire: les lettres de Ba Jin à Jean Monsterleet, 1946–1951* (The anarchist and the missionary: letters from Ba Jin to Jean Monsterleet, 1946–1951). Paris: Librairie You Feng.

Renof, Israël. 1981. "Aperçu sur l'anarchisme chinois." (Insight on Chinese anarchism), *Bulletin du C.P.C.A.* (Centre de publication et de culture anarchiste) (Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, Sept.–Oct.) 13: 9–11.

Rocker, Rudolf. 1947. *La Juventud de un rebelde*, trans. Diego Abad de Santillán. Buenos Aires: Editorial Tupac-Editorial Americalee.

Shen, Congwen 沈從文. 1934. *Congwen zizhuan* 從文自傳 (Autobiography of Congwen). Shanghai: Diyi chubanshe.

Tang, Jinhai 唐金海 and Zhang Xiaoyun 張曉雲. 1989. *Ba Jin nianpu* 巴金年譜 (Chronology of Ba Jin) Vol. 1. Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe.

Tien, C.J. 1964. "Li Pei Kan y sus traducciones de literatura anarquista." *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and liberty) 256 (México: September): 6–8.

Vanzetti, Bartolomeo. 1924. *The Story of A Proletarian Life*, trans. Eugene Lyons. Boston: Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee.

Volin. 1974. *The Unknown Revolution* (*1917–1921*). New York: Free Life Editions.

Wang, Yougui 王友貴. 2000. "Ba Jin wenxue fanyi chutan" 巴金文學翻譯初探 (About Ba Jin's literary translations). *Ba Jin yanjiu* 巴金研究 (Ba Jin studies) 39: 23–30.

Xu, Shanshu 許善述. 1995. *Ba Jin yu shijieyu* 巴金與世界語 (Ba Jin and Esperanto). Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyu chubanshe.

Yuyi 余一 [Ba Jin]. [1934a] 1986–94. "Guanyu fanyi" 關於翻譯 (Concerning translation). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 12: 509–10.

———. [1934b] 1986–94. "Shengming" 生命 (Life). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 12: 452–3.

———. [1935] 1986–94. "Guanyu fanyi" 關於翻譯 (Concerning translation). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 18: 354–60.

CHAPTER 3

Eileen Chang as a Chinese Translator of American Literature*[1]

Shan Te-hsing

Foreword

Often hailed as one of the greatest modern Chinese writers, Eileen Chang 張愛玲 (1920–1995) begins her essay "Bi ye zhengming hu?" 必也正名乎? (What is essential is that names be right) with a shocking statement: "I myself have an unbearably vulgar name, am well aware of the fact, and have no plans to change it" 我自己有一個惡俗不堪的名字, 明知其俗而不打算換一個. She goes on to elaborate on her idea about naming as "a simple and small-scale act of creation" 一種輕便的, 小規模的創造 (Chang [1968] 1991, 35).[2] As a famous storyteller, Chang does not tell us the reason she thinks her name is vulgar and we do not know about her obsession with it until the end of the essay:

> 十歲的時候，為了我母親主張送我進學校，我父親一再地大鬧著不依，到底我母親像拐賣人口一般，硬把我送去了。在填寫入學證的時候，　她一時躊躇著不知道填什麼名字好。我的小名叫煐，張煐兩個字嗡嗡地不甚響亮。她支著頭想了一會，說:『暫且把英

* Special thanks go to Prof. William Tay (鄭樹森) for granting an interview, Prof. Yu-cheng Lee (李有成) for providing information, Ms. Hsueh-mei Chen (陳雪美) for collecting materials, Ms. Esther Huang (黃碧儀) for comparing English originals and different Chinese versions, Dr. Jenny Chuo (卓加真) for commenting on some of Chang's Chinese translations, Mrs. Julie Hu for her painstaking revision, and the organizers of and participants in the international conference on "China and the Other: Cultural Mediations Between China and the West in the Modern Era," especially Prof. Hsiao-yen Peng (彭小妍) of Academia Sinica, Taiwan, and Prof. Isabelle Rabut of Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, France.

1 The current English version updates and revises the earlier Chinese versions included in my *Fanyi yu Mailuo* (《翻譯與脈絡》 [*Translations and Contexts*]) (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2007), 145–67 and (Taipei: Bookman, 2009), 159–79 (the Bookman edition was a revised and enlarged edition of the Tsinghua edition published in mainland China).

2 For the English translations of these passages, I am indebted to Andrew F. Jones, translator of Chang's *Written on Water* (Chang 2004a).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789047270220_005

> 文名字胡亂譯兩個字罷。』她一直打算替我改而沒有改，到現在，我卻不願意改了。（40）
>
> When I was ten, my mother proclaimed that I should be sent to school, and my father raised a huge storm of protest and refused to give his consent. Finally, my mother personally carried me to school over his loud protests, like a kidnapper. As she filled out the school registration card, she hesitated, uncertain what name to write down. My childhood name had been Zhang Ying [張煐], but that sounded a bit too reedy and dull. She propped her head against her hand and thought for a moment before saying, "Let's transcribe your English name into Chinese for the time being." She always planned to change it someday but never did; now I don't want to change it anyway. (Chang 2004a, 38)

According to this autobiographical account, "Ailing," the "unbearably vulgar name," was her mother's "creation" on the basis of her English name "Eileen." However, cherishing "the memory of how I came to be named" 還是為了取名字的時候那一點回憶 (Chang 2004a, 38; Chang [1968]1991, 40), Chang stuck to this vulgar name ever since. In other words, "Zhang Ying" was her original name at home, "Eileen Chang" was her English name, and "Zhang Ailing" was her Chinese name at school and will be registered in modern Chinese literary history due to her literary accomplishments. In hindsight, this anecdote of naming and trafficking between Chinese and English serves as an allegory of Chang's role as a translator.

Chang was one of the translators recruited by the Hong Kong-based World Today Press, which had the full support of the U.S. government.[3] Best known as a creative writer, Chang has attracted much attention from critics over the decades. Most studies have focused on her accomplishments as a novelist in modern Chinese literature, and this critical industry is so prosperous as to be dubbed as *Zhang-xue* 張學 (literally "Chang-ology"). However, her role as a translator, especially as a Chinese translator of American literature, has long

3 Hundreds of the Chinese translations of American literary texts were produced by World Today Press in Hong Kong and disseminated around the non-Communist Chinese-speaking world as part of the U.S. cultural diplomacy under the containment policy of the Cold War period. Unprecedented in variety, quantity, and quality, this series of translations has exerted tremendous influence on more than one generation of Chinese readers and has helped establish the U.S. as a symbol of progress and democracy as well as the leader of the Free World to a certain extent. See Shan 2007b. For related background information, see Zhao 2006.

been neglected. One clear example is that her so-called "Complete Works" published by Huangguan Publishing Company in Taiwan beginning in the 1980s, did not include her Chinese translations until 1992.[4] This chapter intends to characterize and evaluate Chang's role as a Chinese translator of American literature.

Chang as a Translator

Chang's position in modern Chinese literary history has been established ever since C.T. Hsia devoted a whole chapter to her in his groundbreaking and monumental *History of Modern Chinese Fiction* in 1962 (Hsia 1962). However, in comparison with the strong interest in Chang the creative writer, little attention has been paid to her as a translator. In fact, a glimpse at the breakdown of the works she translated shows that her role as a translator is not only significant, but also rather complicated.[5]

Some observations can be made concerning her translations. First of all, Chang's career as a translator began as early as 1941, at the age of 21, with her abridged translation of Margaret Halsey's *With Malice toward Some* (with the title changed in Chinese to "Sarcasm and irony") in Shanghai (Chang 1941).[6]

Second, most of the works translated in the 1940s were originally written by her good friend Fatima Mohideen 炎櫻, and Chang's Chinese translations were published in the various monthlies in Shanghai.

Third, her role as a self-translator began in 1943, when she translated/rewrote into Chinese some of her English works published in *The XXth Century*, a well-known English journal in Shanghai. This role culminated in 1954 when the

4 The volume included her translation of Emerson. It took another twelve years for four other "translations" (in fact, two translations and two articles on Emerson and Thoreau, respectively) to be included in her "Complete Works." For details, see Chang 2004b, 72–220. The fact that these translations and articles were included in the volume titled "Former Classmates and Acquaintances" is another example of how her translations and related pieces have been undervalued. In 2010 and 2012, Huangguan published two volumes of Chang's selected translations (Chang 2010; Chang 2012). The first volume included her translations of Washington Irving's "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Ralph Waldo Emerson's selected works, and Henry David Thoreau's poems; and the second, Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea,* with Robert Penn Warren's essay on Hemingway (originally published in *Kenyon Review* in 1947), and Marjorie K. Rawlings's *The Yearling*.

5 For Chang's translations from English into Chinese and from Chinese into English, see Shan 2007a, 170–9, 182–8.

6 For a discussion of Chang's first translation, see Z. Chen 1998.

Chinese and English versions of her anti-communist novels *The Rice-Sprout Song: A Novel of Modern China* (Yangge 秧歌) and *Naked Earth: A Novel about China* (Chidizhilian 赤地之戀) were published in Hong Kong.[7]

Fourth, her career as a translator formally began with her translation of Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, first published in Hong Kong in 1952 under the pseudonym of Fan Siping 范思平 (Chang 1952).[8]

Fifth, well-versed in both languages, Chang translated from English into Chinese and vice versa. Her book-length English translations include Chen Ji-ying's 陳紀瀅 anti-Communist novel *Fool in the Reeds* (Dicunzhuan 荻村傳, 1951) published in Hong Kong in 1959 and Han Bangqing's 韓邦慶 *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (Haishanghua liezhuan 海上花列傳, 1894) published posthumously by Columbia University Press in 2005.[9]

Last but not least, almost all her translations during the 1950s and 1960s were under the sponsorship of World Today Press, which in turn was supported by the United States Information Service (USIS) and concentrated on American literature. These American literary translations contributed significantly to her role as a translator and cultural mediator.

Chang's Chinese Translations of American Literature

Although the main mission of the USIS in Hong Kong was to carry out the diplomatic and cultural policy of the U.S. government in its global strategic deployment to contain Communism, the translation series of World Today Press had an enormous influence which went far beyond the immediate political concerns and historical milieu. One example is the important part it played in Chang's literary career in the 1950s and 1960s, especially in her role as a

7 For a general discussion of Chang's self-translation, see Lau 2007, 125–56. In her recent article, Shuang Shen 沈雙 remarks, "[b]y comparing Chang's writings with their translations, I notice that Chang's bilingual practice shows clearly the consciousness of the tension as well as mutual dependency of the worlds of Chinese and English. It is based on this awareness that Chang engaged in a self-performance through self-translation" (Shen 2012, 93).

8 This translation appeared under Chang's own name in the third printing of the Zhong Yi edition in 1955 and the World Today Press edition in 1962.

9 In 1982, the first two chapters of her English translation of *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* appeared in *Renditions*, a journal devoted to Chinese-English translation and published by the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Twenty-three years later, the whole book was finally published in the U.S. with Eva Hung's 孔慧怡 revisions. Other English translations by Chang include *The Rouge of the North* (Beidi yanzhi 北地胭脂, 1967) and "The Golden Cangue" (Jinsuo ji 金鎖記, 1971).

translator. On the one hand, the USIS needed qualified Chinese translators for its huge cultural project. On the other hand, newly arriving in Hong Kong in 1952, Chang had to make a living and the USIS's generous offer certainly was very attractive and helpful.[10] When the USIS advertised for the Chinese translator of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, she applied, and thus began her formal career not only as a translator but also as a self-translator under the sponsorship of the USIS.

Since this chapter focuses on Chang's Chinese translations of American literature, I will mention her English (self-)translations only in passing. As a writer and self-translator, Chang's anti-communist novel *The Rice-Sprout Song* was written in English and translated into Chinese by herself. The other anti-communist novel *Naked Earth*, on the contrary, was first written in Chinese and translated into English, also by herself. The Chinese version of *The Rice-Sprout Song* was first serialized in the *World Today* bi-weekly for half a year. The Chinese and English versions of both novels were published in Hong Kong in 1954. The entire process was under the sponsorship of the USIS-supported agency.[11]

The following list of Chang's Chinese translations during the Cold War era shows that they concentrated completely on American literature:

The Old Man and the Sea (1952, 1955, 1972, 1988).[12]
The Yearling (1953, 1962, 1988).
[Selected translations from] *The Portable Emerson* (1953, 1962, 1969, 1987, 1992).
"The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (1954, 1962, 1967, 2004).
"Hemingway" (1956 [published by Wenxue zazhishe 文學雜誌社 in Taipei], 2004).

10 For details, see Chuan C. Kao's 高全之 interview with Richard M. McCarthy, then Director of the USIS in Hong Kong (McCarthy 2003), and Zhao 2006, 87–90.

11 Chang's English translation of Chen Ji-ying's novel, *Fool in the Reeds,* was also sponsored by the USIS and published by Rainbow Press 虹霓出版社 in Hong Kong in 1959 (C. Chen 1987).

12 The years designate the publications of Chang's translations by different publishers. For details, see Shan 2007a, 170–9, 182–8. It is worth noting that the two catalogues of World Today Press (World Today 1976; World Today 1980) contradicted each other in specifying the translator of Eugene O'Neill's *The Glass Menagerie*, the former as "Zhang Ailing" and the latter as, "Qin Zhang Fengai" 秦張鳳愛. This question remained unsolved until 2010 when Ma Ji 馬吉 discovered that there was really a person by the name of Qin Zhang Fengai, who had been associated with World Today Press and had studied drama in the U.S. See Ma 2010.

Emerson's poems (1953, 1961, 1962, 1969, 1987, 1988, 1992, 2004).
Thoreau's poems (1961, 1988, 2004).
Seven Modern American Novelists (1967).

An overall view of the list of literary translations published by World Today Press shows that Chang was one of the most prolific translators of this influential series. This had to do with the institutional support of the USIS in Hong Kong, an endeavor which proved to be mutually beneficial to the project and the translator. Moreover, the range of Chang's translations covered almost every genre in the series—essay, fiction, poetry, and literary criticism—which was very rare, indeed. It is also interesting to note that several of her translations were first published by other publishers (Zhong Yi Publishing Co. and Tian Feng Press 天風出版社 which also received financial support from the U.S. agency.[13] And in re-issuing Chang's former translations, some changes were being made with regard to either the titles or textual details. For instance, the Chinese title of Marjorie K. Rawlings's *The Yearling* was changed from "Xiaolu" 小鹿 (or "Little deer") to "Luyuan changchun" 鹿苑長春 (or "Evergreen deer park") and that of *The Portable Emerson*, from "Aimosen xuanji" 愛默森選集 (or Selected works by Emerson) to "Aimosen wenxuan" 愛默森文選 (Prose selections from Emerson).[14] Although *Little Deer* was a more literal and seemingly more faithful rendering of the original title, the change into *Evergreen Deer Park* was more naturalized in terms of Chinese literary convention. On the other hand, the change from *Selected Works by Emerson* to *Prose Selections from Emerson* was less justified, for it seems somewhat misleading. *The Portable Emerson*, selected and edited by the famous literary critic Mark Van Doren, contained Emerson's essays, poems, journal entries, correspondence, and portrayals of some famous people (Emerson 1946). With her Chinese target audience in mind, Chang omitted journal entries completely and selected

13 For instance, Tang Wenbiao 唐文標 mentioned that "Tian Feng Press seemed to be established by the USIS with the U.S. fund for Chinese intellectuals in exile. It did not last long and did not publish too many books." See Tang 1984, 377. In my personal interview with William Tay on October 19, 2004, he said that "the earlier translations with the U.S. financial support were published by other publishers, including Tian Feng Press and Renren Wenxue Chubanshe 人人文學出版社. Later on, these books were reissued by World Today Press and became World Today Series."

14 We do not know whether these changes were made by Chang herself or suggested by the editors of World Today Press. At least no complaint from Chang has come to our attention.

some pieces from each of the remaining categories.[15] The former title (*Selected Works by Emerson*) was an accurate description of the nature of the anthology. In comparison, the later title (*Prose Selections from Emerson*) gave the impression that it contained Emerson's prose works only.

A closer look reveals that all the American authors Chang translated are representative to a great extent. They included an earlier canonical writer (Washington Irving); masters of the American Renaissance and Transcendentalists (Emerson and Thoreau); a Nobel Laureate (Ernest Hemingway, 1954); a Pulitzer Prize winner (Rawlings, 1938); and contemporary American novel criticism. In other words, the authors Chang translated ranged from eighteenth-century to twentieth-century contemporary literature. Her translation of *The Old Man and the Sea* appeared two years before Hemingway won the Nobel Prize. Whereas *Seven Modern American Novelists* appeared in 1964, the Chinese version came out just three years after the English original. Chang translated the introduction and three out of the seven chapters, virtually half of the whole book. This sampling indicated Chang's broad interest as a translator and her competence in dealing with works of different authors, periods, and genres.

Evolution of Chang's Translations

Since some of Chang's translations had been published before they were reissued by World Today Press, it would be interesting to see whether and why some changes were made. Generally speaking, there were no significant changes in the different versions of Emerson and Thoreau, probably with the exception of the title of Emerson's landmark essay, "The American Scholar," which was translated as "Meiguo zhi zheren" 美國之哲人 (The American philosopher) and "Meiguo zhi xuezhe" 美國之學者 (The American scholar), respectively. Whereas the latter seems to be a more literal and faithful translation, the former follows more closely Emerson's succinct definition and exhortation of "The American Scholar" as "*Man Thinking*."[16] So far as Emerson's poems are

15 For a listing of the English table of contents and those of the four Chinese versions, see Shan 2007a, 191–4.

16 Emerson's original paragraph reads: "In this distribution of functions, the scholar is the delegated intellect. In the right state, he is, Man Thinking. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking" (Emerson 1946, 25). Chang translated "Man Thinking" into "Sixiang zhe de ren" 思想著的人 (or "A Thinking Person") to maintain its dynamic status.

concerned, it appears that the biggest discrepancy occurred in the different versions of "The Problem," especially when it was incorporated into *Meiguo shixuan* 美國詩選 (Anthology of American poetry), edited by Stephen C. Soong 宋淇 (Song Qi, better known as Lin Yiliang 林以亮), and first published by World Today Press in 1961. The Tian Feng and World Today versions were almost the same. But the *Anthology* version differed to a certain extent, and five notes were added to explain some allusions. The Huangguan edition was a combination of all the previous editions. Table 3.1 compares the textual differences of the various Chinese versions and the English original.

TABLE 3.1 *Comparison of Chang's Translations of Emerson's "The Problem"*

The Portable Emerson (New York: Viking Press, 1946)	*Selected Works by Emerson* (Tian Feng, 1953, without notes) *Prose Selections from Emerson* (World Today Press, 1963, without notes)	*Anthology of American Poetry* (World Today Press, with five notes) *Complete Works of Chang Ailing*, vol. 17 (Huangguan, 2004, with five notes)	*Selected Works by Emerson* (Huangguan, 1992, without notes)
He builded better than he knew; / The conscious stone to beauty grew. (311)	他自己也不知道怎麼造得這樣好,／那靈醒的石頭變得越發美妙。(Tian Feng 160; World Today Press 113; emphasis added)	他造得這樣好,自己也不知道,／那靈醒的石頭變得如此美妙。(World Today Press 11; Huanggung 142; emphasis added)	他造得這樣好,自己也不知道,／那靈醒的石頭變得如此美妙。(148; emphasis added)
The word unto the prophet spoken / Was writ on tables yet unbroken; / The word by seers or sibyls told . . . (312)	上帝告訴先知的語句,／刻在石碑上,還沒有碎。(Tian Feng 162; World Today Press 115; emphasis added)	上帝告訴先知的語句充滿智慧,／刻在石碑上,很完整,並沒有碎。(World Today Press 12; Huangguan 145; emphasis added)	上帝告訴先知的語句充滿智慧,／刻在石碑上,很完整,並沒有碎。(151; emphasis added)

(*Continued*)

TABLE 3.1 (*Continued*)

The Book itself before me lies, / Old *Chrysostom*, best Augustine, / And he who blent both in his line, / The younger *Golden Lips* or mines, / Taylor, the Shakespeare of divines. (312; emphasis added)	有一本聖經攤在我面前，／古代奧格司汀最好的著作，／還有一本書將二者貫通融合，／年代較近的「黃金口才」或寶藏，／作者泰勒是牧師中的莎士比亞。(Tian Feng 163; World Today Press 116; emphasis added)	因為聖經就攤在我的面前，／古代的「黃金口才」和奧古司丁最好的著作，／還有一位作者將二者貫通融合，／近代的「黃金口才」或寶藏就是他，／泰勒是牧師中的莎士比亞。(World Today Press 13; Huangguan 146; emphasis added)	有一本聖經攤在我面前，／古代奧格司汀最好的著作，／還有一本書將二者貫通融合，／年代較近的『黃金口才』或寶藏，／作者泰勒是牧師中的莎士比亞。(151; emphasis added)

As for Chang's different versions of *The Old Man and the Sea*, there were virtually no textual differences between the two Zhong Yi editions, except that the latter included Chang's two-page preface written in November 1954, in which she told us that this book was her favorite among all the foreign books she had read, how honorable it was for this book to win the Nobel Prize of the year ("the highest honor for all the writers in the world"), and that she worried whether her translation was able to convey the charm and profundity of the original work (Chang 1954). When her translation was reissued by World Today Press in 1962, the publisher added as the introduction Carlos Baker's article translated by Leo Ou-fan Lee李歐梵.

Table 3.2 shows that the World Today Press edition was more accurate and idiomatic, though we have no idea about whether the editors at World Today Press had played any role in it.

More striking differences could be found in the different versions of *The Yearling*. As mentioned earlier, even the title was translated first into *Little Deer* and into *Evergreen Deer Park* in the second version. A comparison of Chang's translation with the 1938 edition of *The Yearling* demonstrates that hers was not a complete translation. This was further testified by the following statement on the copyright page: "Abridged from the Book in the Author's Own Words." That is to say, Chang's translation was based on the author's own abridged version, though we have no clue about why this version was chosen as the source text in

TABLE 3.2 *Comparison of Chang's Translations of* The Old Man and the Sea

The Old Man and The Sea (1952; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962)	*Laoren yu hai* (Zhong Yi, 1952)	*Laoren yu hai* (1962; World Today Press, 1972; Tai-ying, 1988)[17]
... and the boy had gone at their orders in another boat which caught three good fish the first week. (1; emphasis added)	孩子由於父母的吩咐, 到另一隻船上去打魚, (1; emphasis added)	於是孩子聽了父母的吩咐, 到另一隻船上去打魚, (World Today Press 1; Tai-ying 30; emphasis added)
Let me get four fresh ones. (4)	讓我去給你弄新鮮的。(4)	讓我去給你弄四隻新鮮的。(World Today Press 4; Tai-ying 36)
But then I think of Dick Sisler and those great drives in the old park. (8)	可是我又想起狄克西斯勒, 在老公園裡那樣有力地一記記打過去 (13; emphasis added)	可是我又想起狄克. 西斯勒, 在老球場裡那樣有力地一記記打過去。(World Today Press 12; Tai-ying 44; emphasis added)

the first place.[18] Table 3.3 shows that the World Today Press version was more refined and idiomatic than the previous one, yet it made a serious mistake by mistranslating "winter" into "autumn."

Chang's Strategies of Translation

Generally speaking, Chang was a competent translator, and her Chinese translations of American literature were mostly accurate and faithful. In her translations, she made use of such translation strategies as introduction, annotation, naturalization, and foreignization. Occasionally, there were sins of omission, sins of commission, and incorrect translation. Since poetry is the

17 In 1988, Tai-ying 台英 republished several translations originally issued by World Today Press with the authorization of the USIS in Taipei.

18 My research assistant Jenny Chuo found that the abridged version given to National Taiwan Normal University by the USIS was a typescript without pagination.

TABLE 3.3 *Comparison of Chang's Translations of* The Yearling

***The Yearling* (1938; Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1939)**	***The Yearling* (1938; Abridged Edition, see Taipei: United States Information Service)**	***Little Deer* (Tian Feng, 1953)**	***Evergreen Deer Park* (World Today Press, 1962; Tai-ying, 1988)**
The clearing itself was pleasant if the unweeded rows of young shafts of corn were not before him. The wild bees had found the chinaberry tree by the *front-gate*. They burrowed into the fragile clusters of *lavender-bloom* as greedily as though (*there were no other flowers in the scrub; as though*) they had forgotten the yellow *jasmine* of March; the *sweet-bay* and the magnolias ahead of them in May. It occurred to him that he might follow the swift line of flight of the black and gold bodies, and so find a bee-tree, full of amber honey. The winter's *cane-syrup* was gone and most of the jellies. Finding a bee-tree was nobler work than hoeing, and the corn could wait another day.	The clearing itself was pleasant if the unweeded rows of young shafts of corn were not before him. The wild bees had found the chinaberry tree by the *front gate*. They burrowed into the fragile clusters of *lavender bloom* as greedily as though they had forgotten the yellow *jessamin* of March; the *sweet bay* and the magnolias ahead of them in May. It occurred to him that he might follow the swift line of flight of the black and gold bodies, and so find a bee-tree, full of amber honey. The winter's *cane syrup* was gone and most of the jellies. Finding a bee-tree was nobler work than hoeing, and the corn could wait another day.	那塊開墾出來的土地本身是悅人的,只可惜那些一排排的玉蜀黍的嫩莖間,沒有鋤去莠草,展開在他面前。野蜂找到了大門旁邊的一棵中國漿果樹,它們貪婪地鑽進那纖弱的一球球淡紫色的花朵,就彷彿它們已經忘記了三月裡的黃茉莉,五月裡要開的玉蘭花與馨香的月桂 樹。他想他也許去跟著那些黑黃相間的身體迅速飛行的路線,那樣他可以找到一棵有蜂窠的樹,充滿了琥珀色的蜜。冬天的蔗糖漿已經吃完了,菓凍也差不多吃完了。去找一棵有蜂窠的樹,是比鋤草高尚些的工作,玉蜀黍可以再等一天。那下午是生氣蓬勃的,帶著一種輕柔的騷動。它鑽到他裡面 去,	那塊開墾出來的土地本身是悅人的,只可惜一排排幼嫩的玉蜀黍偏偏橫在眼前,莠草未鋤。野蜂找到了大門旁邊的那棵中國漿果樹,貪饞地鑽進那纖弱的淡紫色的花球裡,好像忘記了三月曾開過的黃茉莉,五月裡就要開的玉蘭花與馨香的月桂樹。他想他也許可以跟著這些黑黃相間的蟲兒迅速飛行的路線,找到一棵有蜂窠的樹,滿了〔台英版作「裝滿了」〕琥珀色的蜜。秋天的蔗糖漿已經吃完了,菓凍也差不多吃完了。去找尋有蜂窠的樹,比鋤玉蜀黍畦間的草要神氣得多,玉蜀黍可以再等一天。這是一個洋溢著一種輕柔的撩撥的下午。它一直鑽到他裡面,就像那些蜜蜂鑽進中

(*Continued*)

TABLE 3.3 (*Continued*)

The afternoon was alive with a soft stirring. It bored into him as the bees bored into the *china-berry-blossoms*, so that he must be gone across the clearing, through the pines and down the road to the running branch. The bee-tree might be near the water. (5; emphasis added)	The afternoon was alive with a soft stirring. It bored into him as the bees bored into the *chinaberry blossoms*, so that he must be gone across the clearing, through the pines and down the road to the running branch. The bee-tree might be near the water. (n.p., emphasis added)	就像那些蜜蜂鑽進中國漿菓花中;所以他必須走過那片開墾出的土地,穿過松林沿著那條路走下去,到那奔流的小河邊。有蜂窠的樹也許在水邊。(1–2; emphasis added)	國漿菓花中;使他非走過那片開墾出的土地穿過松林,沿著那條路下,到那奔流的小河邊去不可。有蜂窠的樹也許在水邊。(World Today Press 1; Tai-ying 11–12; emphasis added)

most condensed form of verbal expression, I will focus on Chang's translation of Emerson's poems as they appeared in *Anthology of American Poetry*. Another reason for choosing the poetry translations is that, short as they were, Chang employed a lot of strategies which were not seen in her prose translations. In order to familiarize her target audience with Emerson, Chang prefaced her translations with her article on "Life and Works of Emerson," which gave a concise and accessible introduction to this eminent nineteenth-century American writer and thinker. Moreover, some annotations were added which provided further information about the allusions in Emerson's poems. For instance, five annotations were added to "The Problem," two to "Seashore," and one to "Brahma."[19] What follows is a listing of Chang's translations in terms of

19 It should be noted that none of these annotations appeared in Chang's previous translations. Moreover, "Seashore" was not included in *The Portable Emerson* and, therefore, was a new addition.

TABLE 3.4 *Examples of Naturalization*

Title	Original	Translation
"The Problem"	"cowl" (310)	"僧衣" (9)
	"monastic" (310)	"僧寺" (9)
"Brahma"	"Brahma" (343)	"大神" (5)
"Seashore"	"Pilgrim"	"進香人" (6)

naturalization, foreignization, sins of omission, sins of commission, and incorrect translations.

Naturalization

A bilingual reader will immediately notice that the four Chinese translations in Table 3.4 are characterized by naturalization. For instance, the Indian connotations of "Brahma" totally disappear and the Christian connotations of "Pilgrim" are transformed into a typical Chinese expression of the religious believers who go to traditional Chinese temples to burn incense as a way of paying respect to gods. Moreover, expressions such as "*sengsi*" 僧寺 and "*sengyi*" 僧衣 readily remind the Chinese or bilingual readers of Buddhist temples and the clothing that Buddhist monks and nuns wear. If the readers of these Chinese translations do not check Emerson's poems in English, they will either miss the original religious connotations or mistake these expressions for something else. In other words, although Chang's strategy of naturalization will produce a sense of familiarity among its target audience and make these poems more accessible, the price to be paid should not be neglected.

Foreignization

One of the functions of translation is to enrich the expressions of the target language with those of the source language. This is most often seen in foreignization. However, since the goal of World Today Press was to introduce American literature and culture to as wide a Chinese audience as possible, it often adopted the strategy of naturalization, as seen from the examples above. Chang's poetry translations generally did not take the rhythm of the original poems into too serious consideration. Instead, she attempted to convey the meaning

and imagery of the original poems in idiomatic Chinese expressions and syntax. However, *the* most obvious exception might be that in Table 3.5 below:

TABLE 3.5 *Example of Foreignization*

Title	Original	Translation
"The Problem"	"The hand that *rounded* Peter's dome/ and *groined* the aisles of Christian Rome / Wrought in a sad sincerity; / Himself from God he could not free;" (311; emphasis added)	"多才的手弄圓了聖彼得堂的圓頂／弄穹了羅馬各教堂上的弧稜，／顯出來一種陰沈沈的虔誠氣息，／他沒有辦法擺脫上帝;" (11; emphasis added)

The verbs "rounded" and "groined" in "The hand that rounded Peter's dome / And groined the aisles of Christian Rome" are parallel to each other. Chang tried to reproduce this parallelism in her translation. Whereas readers would appreciate the reproduced parallelism, the expression "弄穹了" was awkward and unidiomatic, to say the least. Here the translator adopted a literal translation whose meaning could not be easily grasped by the target audience.

Additions, Omissions, and Incorrect Translations

Naturalization and foreignization have to do with the translator's strategy and the effect is subject to various evaluations. However, the translator's additions, omissions, or incorrect translations can hardly be excused. The following example (Table 3.6) clearly shows that "young" was omitted in the Chinese translation.

TABLE 3.6 *Example of a "Sin of Omission"*

Title	Original	Translation
"The Problem"	"Not from a vain or shallow thought /His awful Jove *young* Phidias brought," (311; emphasis added)	"菲地亞斯叼出可敬畏的天神的像，／並不是由於一種淺薄的虛榮思想;" (10)

The first example in Table 3.7, below, shows that Chang translated "the Pyramids" into "金字塔尖" (the *tips* of the Pyramids) in order to maintain the original rhyme scheme, a choice which tremendously reduced the grandeur of the original poem. In other words, here "sense" was sacrificed for the sake of "sound." As for the second example, "多才的手" (The *talented* hand) was an addition which could have been replaced by a more idiomatic expression "巧手."

TABLE 3.7 *Examples of Additions*

Title	Original	Translation
"The Problem"	"And *Morning* opens with haste her lids / To gaze upon *the Pyramids*;" (311; emphasis added)	"晨神急忙張開她的眼簾，凝神著那些金字塔尖。" (11; emphasis added)
	"*The hand* that rounded Peter's dome / And groined the aisles of Christian Rome / Wrought in a sad sincerity; / Himself from God he could not free;" (311, emphasis added)	"多才的手弄圓了聖彼得堂的圓頂／弄穹了羅馬各教堂上的弧稜，／顯出來一種陰沈沈的虔誠氣息，／他沒有辦法擺脫上帝;" (11; emphasis added)

Even a great bard like Homer sometimes nods, let alone a translator. The examples in Table 3.8 below are instances of incorrect translation:

TABLE 3.8 *Examples of Incorrect Translations*

Title	Original	Translation
"The Problem"	"Such and so grew these holy piles, / Whilst love and terror laid the tiles." (311)	"這些神聖的大建築也是這樣起始，／愛與恐懼驅使人們堆上磚石。" (11; emphasis added)
	" I am the doubter and the doubt/And I the hymn the Brahmin sings." (343)	"而我是那僧侶，也是他唱誦的聖詩。" (5; emphasis added)
	"But thou, meek lover of the good! / Find me, and turn thy back on heaven." (343)	"但是你——謙卑的愛善者！／你找到了我，而拋棄了天堂！" (6; emphasis added)

The back translation of the second line of the first example is "love and fear drove people to pile up bricks and stones." Although the translator tried to maintain the original rhyme scheme, there was some discrepancy between the original meaning and the translation. The second and third examples are obvious mistranslations. For the back translation of the second example is "And I am *both* the monk [the Brahmin] *and* the hymn he sings," and that of the third is "But thou—meek lover of the good! / You *have found* me, and *yet have forsaken* heaven!"

The comments above might appear to be too critical and meticulous. Generally speaking, however, the quality of World Today Press translation series was quite good, and Chang's was no exception. One thing remains to be said about the special nature of *Anthology of American Poetry*. Though it was edited by Soong and included a number of works by famous American poets translated by different Chinese translators, little is known about how the editor and the translators, including Chang, collaborated and negotiated with each other in producing this poetry anthology.[20] But it remains one of the best translations and introductions to English and American poetry in the Chinese-speaking world.

Conclusion

Some conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion. First of all, Chang's role as a translator can be classified in several ways. So far as languages are concerned, her role as a translator can be further divided into two types: that of an intralingual translator, as in the case of the translation of *The Sing-Song Girls of Shanghai* from the regional Wu dialect into Mandarin and that of an interlingual translator, from English into Chinese, and vice versa (Jakobson 1971, 261).[21]

Second, her roles also involved that of self-translator, since she translated some of her own works from Chinese into English, and vice versa. Furthermore, this back-and-forth trafficking between Chinese and English also contributed to the rewriting and improvement of her own works, as demonstrated by the evolution of one of them: the evolution of this work is from (Chinese)

20 Four names—Eileen Chang, Lin Yi-liang, Yu Kwang-chung 余光中, and Xing Kwang-chu 邢光祖—were listed in the copyright page, though Liang Shih-qiu 梁實秋 and Xia Jing 夏菁 also translated some pieces.

21 According to Roman Jakobson, there are three kinds of translation: intralingual, interlingual, and intersemiotic. Whereas Chang's translations discussed in this chapter fall into the first categories, the adaptations of her stories into films, such as *Lust/Caution* (《色,戒》), are intersemiotic, a subject that deserves further research.

Jinsuo Ji 金鎖記 (An account of the gold lock), to (English) *Pink Tears*, to (English) *The Rouge of the North* (Beidi yanzhi 北地胭脂), to (Chinese) *Yuannü* 怨女 (Embittered woman). In 1971, an English version, *The Golden Cangue,* was collected in *Twentieth Century Chinese Stories*, edited by C.T. Hsia (Chang 1971).[22]

Third, Chang's Chinese translations of American literature were published by different publishers, and the evolution of her translated works can be traced. All these publishing companies in Hong Kong were financially supported by the U.S. government agency, which even helped acquire the copyright for translation. This was something unusual at a time when pirated translations ran rampant in the Chinese-speaking world.

Fourth, a lot of strategies can be found in Chang's translations, such as introduction, annotation, naturalization, and foreignization, especially in her translation of poetry. These strategies not only demonstrated Chang's effort to make her literary translations more accessible to her target audience, but also characterized her as a cultural mediator between the Chinese-reading public and the U.S. as the self-appointed leader of the Free World in the struggle against Communism during the Cold War era.

Fifth, serving two masters, no translator is free of mistakes and criticism and Chang is no exception. There are indeed some sins of omission, sins of commission, and incorrect translations. However, in comparison with other translations done at that time or at present, Chang's translations are good and have their unique contributions.

Finally, in comparison with Chang's Chinese creative works in her "Hong Kong era" (1952–1955), not only were the translated works numerous, but an intimate relationship existed between her creative works and translations, as shown in the case of *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *Naked Earth*. And it might not be too far from the fact to say that Chang's role in this period was more that of a translator than of a creative writer. In other words, her collaboration with the USIS played a very significant part in her literary output in this period. This by no means suggests that she was an instrument of the U.S. cultural diplomacy dictated by the containment policy. On the contrary, both sides made good use of their resources and produced good literary translations whose influence transcended the immediate political concerns.

In short, although Chang's reputation in modern Chinese literary history has been established on the basis of her Chinese literary creations, her role as a

22 For a discussion of the different representations of the female body through Chang's self-translation/rewriting, see Li 2010.

translator and cultural mediator, especially as a Chinese translator of American literature during the Cold War era, deserves our attention and a fair evaluation.

Works Cited

Chang, Eileen 張愛玲 [Fan Siping (范思平, pseud.].1954. Preface to *Laoren yu hai* 老人與海 (The old man and the sea). In *Laoren yu hai* 老人與海 (The old man and the sea), 3–4. Hong Kong: Zhong Yi.

———. [1968] 1991. "Bi ye zhengming hu?" 必也從名乎 (What is essential is that names be right). In *Liuyan* 流言 (Written on water), 35–40. Taipei: Huangguan.

———. 1971. *The Golden Cangue*. In C.T. Hsia, ed., *Twentieth Century Short Stories*, 138–91. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2004a. "What Is Essential Is That Names Be Right." In *Written on Water,* trans. Andrew F. Jones, 33–8. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2004b. *Zhang Ailing quanji 17: Tongxue shaonian dou bu jian* 張愛玲全集17 同學少年都不賤 (Complete works of Zhang Ailing, vol. 17, Former classmates and acquaintances). Taipei: Huangguan.

———, trans. 1941. Lue er lue 謔而虐 (Sarcasm and irony) *Xishu jinghua quarterly* 西書精華 (Essence of Western books) no. 6. Originally written by Margaret Halsey under title *With Malice toward Some.*

———. trans. 1952. *Laoren yu hai* 老人與海 (*The old man and the sea*), Hong Kong: Zhong Yi. Originally written by Ernest Hemingway.

———, trans. 2010. *Zhang Ailing Diancang 17—Zhang Ailing Yizuoxuan* 《張愛玲典藏17——張愛玲譯作選》(Works of Zhang Ailing, vol. 17—Zhang Ailing's selected translations). Taipei: Huangguan, 2010.

———, trans. 2012. *Zhang Ailing Diancang 18—Zhang Ailing Yizuoxuan*, vol. 2《張愛玲典藏18——張愛玲譯作選二》 (Works of Zhang Ailing, vol. 18—Zhang Ailing's selected translations, vol. 2). Taipei: Huangguan.

Chen, Chi-ying 陳紀瀅. 1987. "*Dicun zhuan* fanyi shimo—jian ji Zhang Ailing"《荻村傳》翻譯始末——兼記張愛玲 (The whole story of translating *Fool in the Reeds*: with some notes on Zhang Ailing). *Lianhe wenxue* 聯合文學 (Unitas literary monthly) 3, no.5 (March): 92–4.

Chen, Zi-shan 陳子善 1998. "Fanyi yingwen zuopin de zuichu changshi—Zhang Ailing yizuo 'Nue er nue' qian shuo" 〈翻譯英文作品的最初嘗試——張愛玲譯作〈謔而虐〉淺說〉(An initial attempt at translating English works: a discussion on Zhang Ailing's translation of With malice toward some). *Lianhe fukan* (Literary supplement, United daily news), September 10, 37.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. 1946. *The Portable Emerson*. Selected and with an introduction by Mark Van Doren. New York: Viking.

Hsia, C.T. 夏志清. 1962. *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 1994 "Lun Zhang Ailing" 論張愛玲 (On Zhang Ailing). In Yu Qing 于青 and Jin Hongda 金宏達, eds., *Zhang Ailing yanjiu ziliao* 張愛玲研究資料 (Research materials on Zhang Ailing), 131–47. Fuzhou: Haixia wenyi Chubanshe.

Jakobson, Roman. 1971. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." In *Roman Jakobson: Selected writings.* vol. II*: Word and Language,* 260–6. Paris: Mouton.

Lau, Joseph S. M. 劉紹銘. 2007. "Zhang Ailing de Zhong Ying Hu Yi" 張愛玲的中英互譯) (Eileen Chang's translations between Chinese and English). In *Zhang Ailing de wenzi shijie* 張愛玲的文字世界 (The literary world of Eileen Chang), 126–56. Taipei: Jiu ge.

Li, Jessica Tsui Yan 李翠恩. 2010. "Self-Translation/Rewriting: The Female Body in Eileen Chang's 'Jinsuo ji,' *The Rouge of the North*, *Yuannü* and 'The Golden Cangue.'" *Neohelicon* 37, no.2: 391–403.

Ma, Ji 馬吉. 2010. "Qin Zhang Feng-ai shi Zhang Ailing ma?" 秦張鳳愛是張愛玲嗎？ (Is Qin Zhang Fengai Zhang Ailing?). *yvonnefrank.wordpress.com*《書之驛站》), June 11. http://yvonnefrank.wordpress.com/2010/06/11/%E7%A7%A6%E5%BC%B5%E9%B3%B3%E6%84%9B%E6%98%AF%E5%BC%B5%E6%84%9B%E7%8E%B2%E5%97%8E/.

McCarthy, Richard M. 2003. "Zhang Ailing yu xianggang meiguo xinwenchu: fangwen Maikaxi xiansheng" 高全之. 張愛玲與香港美新處: 訪問麥卡錫先生 (Eileen Chang and the USIS in Hong Kong: an interview by Chuan C. Kao. In *Zhang Ailing xue: piping kaozheng gouchen* 張愛玲學: 批評考證. 鉤沉 (Eileen Chang reconsidered), 237–46. Taipei: Yi-fang.

Shan, Te-hsing 單德興. 2007a. *Fanyi yu Mailuo* 翻譯與脈絡 (Translations and contexts). Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.

———. 2007b. "Lengzhan shiqi de Meiguo wenxue Zhongyi — Jinri shijie chubanshe ji wenxue fanyi yu wenhua zhengzhi" 冷戰時期的美國文學中譯——今日世界出版社之文學翻譯與文化政治 (Translating American literature into Chinese in the cold war era: the literary translation and cultural politics of World Today Press). In *Fanyi yu Mailuo* 翻譯與脈絡 (Translations and contexts), 109–44. Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.

Shen, Shuang 沈雙. 2012. "Betrayal, Impersonation, and Bilingualism: Eileen Chang's Self-Translation." In Kam Louie, ed., *Eileen Chang: Romancing Languages, Cultures and Genres*, 91–111. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Tang, Wenbiao 唐文標, ed. 1984. *Zhang Ailing ziliao daquanji* 張愛玲資料大全集 (The complete collection of materials on Zhang Ailing). Taipei: Shibao wenhua.

World Today Books in Print: An Annotated Bibliography 今日世界譯叢目錄. 1976. [Hong Kong]: U. S. Information Service.

World Today Press Book Catalogue, 1980–1981 1980. 今日世界出版社圖書目錄, 1980–1981. [Hong Kong]: U. S. Information Service.

Zhao, Xifang 趙稀方. 2006. "Wushi niandai de Meiyuan wenhua yu Xianggang xiaoshuo" 五十年代的美元文化與香港小說 (U.S.-financed culture and Hong Kong novels in the '50s). *Ershiyi shiji* 二十一世紀 (Twenty-first century) 98: 87–96.

CHAPTER 4

The Birth of a Profession: Translators and Translation in Modern China[1]

Nicolai Volland

Foreword

Translation has been one of the major occupations of Chinese intellectuals throughout the twentieth century. Translators were at the forefront in defining the direction and the shapes of modernity in China, spearheading the introduction of new ideas and providing models from abroad. However, the socioeconomic circumstances and the organizational environment in which these translations were produced have changed significantly over the course of the century. These changes have in turn affected the texts themselves—Chinese translations from a wide variety of foreign-language sources, ranging from science textbooks and engineering manuals to poetry and novels.

The birth of translating as a Chinese profession was a process that went through several stages between the 1930s and the 1950s and involved different actors, including both translators and the regulatory authorities of the nation-state. During the 1930s and 1940s translators began, for the first time, to emerge as a professional group: specialists who relied on their multilingual skills to earn their living, who worked as full-time cross-cultural mediators, and who identified themselves with and through their occupation. Yet the process of professionalization was completed only in the early 1950s, when the new Communist government stepped up the regulation of intellectuals and their occupations, and redefined the parameters for the work of translators.

The emergence of translation as a profession reflects broader trends towards occupational differentiation in the Chinese intellectual community

1 Work on this project was supported by a Postdoctoral Fellowship from Academia Sinica, which is gratefully acknowledged. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference "China and the Other: Cultural Mediations Between China and the West" in Paris, 7–9 Dec. 2006. I would like to thank Peng Hsiao-yen, Huang Kewu, Michael Hill, and other conference participants, as well as an anonymous reviewer, for their most helpful comments and suggestions.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789047270220_006

since the 1930s, especially in major urban centers such as Shanghai. Up to the 1920s, the majority of translations—literary and otherwise—were produced by cosmopolitan and multilingual writers such as Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967), and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), or by academics like Pan Guangdan 潘光旦 (1899–1967) and Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛 (1897–1986). For them, translating was a sideline-business, part of a larger project to reform Chinese culture and society by way of importing ideas and models from abroad. Beginning in the 1930s, however, more and more translators emerged who came to understand translating as a profession in its own right, populated by specialists self-conscious of their mission to mediate between cultures and intent on establishing professional norms. Yet in contrast to other professions—lawyers, journalists, doctors—translation did not develop organizational forms and binding regulatory standards until the early 1950s. After the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) takeover, translators became either salaried employees of the Writers' Association or, more commonly, were assigned to work with publishing houses in narrowly defined fields of specialization. Division of labor, in line with Soviet models adopted in the 1950s, reshaped the occupational landscape for the Chinese intelligentsia in general, and for translators in particular, making them part of a bureaucratically regulated cultural machinery.

This chapter traces the two distinct stages outlined above, examining the emergence of translation as a profession by way of focusing on the agents involved in this process—intellectuals and the party-state, respectively. After a brief discussion of professions and professionalization in Republican China in general, I will turn to the rise of a new breed of translators since the 1930s. The second section of the chapter follows the career path of Fu Lei 傅雷 (1908–1966), one of the foremost translators of nineteenth-century French fiction, showing how Chinese intellectuals after the 1920s faced increasing occupational competition and were thus forced to specialize in more clearly defined areas such as translation. Fu Lei's personal trajectory, and those of many other translators coming of age in the 1930s, illustrate the formation of a new profession with its particular identity and the search for its own professional standards. The third section turns to the party-state, discussing the translation reforms after 1949 and the effects of these changes on translators and their work. Taken together, this development paralleled the transition from the literati (*wenren* 文人) ideal of intellectual generalists (as opposed to specialists), a holdover from imperial times that had still informed the major May Fourth intellectuals. The emergence of a new breed of professional cultural brokers, I argue, marks a significant step in the transition of translating from a part-time occupation into a modern profession, in twentieth-century China.

Professionalism in Republican China

The profound revolution in work and production processes, as well as the fundamental changes in the social division of labor, are central features of modernization. Modernizing states have witnessed the emergence of new professions and the differentiation of occupations.[2] Modern occupations began to emerge in China in the second half of the nineteenth century,[3] a trend that accelerated in the Republican era: increasing interaction with foreign nations, the growth of a modern nation-state with its regulatory institutions, and the transformation of economic and social processes all necessitated the formation of professional groups. Xu (2001, 4) defines modern professions as "unambiguously urban and modern in their origins and functions;" they are characterized by their emphasis on the representation of strictly professional interests as their fundamental organizational motivation—in contrast to traditional forms of association, such as clientele networks and native place ties.[4] In his excellent study on lawyers, doctors, and journalists in Republican China, Xu argues that "... the development of those professional groups may be taken as a measure of China's modern transformation or modernization" (2). Professionals can thus be defined through their organizations, such as the associations that give them a unified voice vis-à-vis other groups and strengthen their collective bargaining position; and through the efforts to develop commonly agreed standards that regulate professional behavior and are binding for all members. Alternatively, professionalism may be defined in contrast to notions of generalist claims: professionals represent a shift from the traditional *wenren* to a more modern sense of occupational differentiation and specialization. While the *wenren* derived their authority from the mastering of official ideology, the latters' claim to expertise was based on their specialized training in one or a few subjects. In a more general sense, then, professionals can be seen as individuals in a specific modern trade who derive all or most of their income from their occupation, and who spend an overwhelming amount of their time and

2 For a comprehensive treatment of professionalism see Larson 1977. Particularly valuable for the present discussion are chapter 4, "Standardization of Knowledge and Market Control," and chapter 12, "Monopolies of Competence and Bourgeois Ideology." For a seminal definition of professionalism see Wilensky 1964.

3 See, for example, Vittinghoff 2002.

4 The function of native place ties as a means of social organization in modern Shanghai is discussed, among others, in Goodman 1995. On the importance of regional linkages for the organization of occupations in Shanghai see Bergère 1992. Xu (2001) argues that in contrast to these more traditional associations, the modern professional organizations he discusses show no signs of regional alignment.

energy on this occupation.[5] Most importantly, professionals tend to develop an identity, a sense of belonging to a particular occupational group. It is in this sense that I am using the terms "professionals" and "profession."

The emergence of a class of white collar workers involved in the processes of knowledge production was probably among the most remarkable social changes in modern China. This class, first appearing in the metropolitan treaty ports along the coast, recruited itself from the traditional intelligentsia. In contrast to the *wenren* of earlier periods, however, the new professionals had to adapt their expectations of social status. Generalist intellectuals, once at the heart of knowledge production and transmission, which had informed their claims to moral and, by implication, political authority, experienced a last celebration of their status during the May Fourth period.[6] At the same time, however, a different breed of "brain workers" emerged, its numbers expanding rapidly.[7] These groups are characterized by more narrowly circumscribed fields of expertise, yet at the same time they made growing inroads into spheres hitherto claimed by the generalist intellectuals.[8] Fields such as education, academic research, publishing and journalism, and translation were all affected by the trend towards specialization. The case of translation and translators is an excellent illustration of these processes.

In contrast to professions such as lawyers, translators in Republican China were loosely organized; they are nonetheless clearly recognizable as a professional group. They did not form a professional association, and the first national conference of translators was convened only in November 1951. The first newsletter for translators, an internal journal edited by the Translation Bureau of the General Publication Administration (Chuban zongshu fanyi ju 出版總署翻譯局), began publication in July 1950. Yet the decision of the young CCP government to address and organize translators was not the starting point of translation as a profession in China; it was an effort to organize and control an occupational group that had developed over the past twenty years and in the process had become a profession in every sense of the word. The CCP did not

5 Compare also Xu 2001, 14: "Professionals as either independent practitioners or salaried employees were individuals who used their expertise to serve the public and made their living as specialized experts."

6 See Mitter 2004, chap. 1–2 and *passim*; Yeh 1990; and Schwarcz 1986.

7 On the changing socio-economic circumstances of intellectuals in Republican China, see the pathbreaking study by Chen Mingyuan (M. Chen 2005). Chen draws attention to the fact that since the 1920s, even well-known intellectuals often struggled to make a living.

8 Xu (2001,71) even says that "... people who remained generalists and made a living by writing and who were generically identified as 'literary men' (*wenren*) sank to the bottom among all the educated—in terms of receiving social and economic rewards."

create translation as a profession, but organized translators in the same way it organized practically every other existing occupational group in the PRC.[9]

The professional translators that emerged in China since the 1930s stand in stark contrast to the most important literary translators from the first third of the twentieth century. Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921) and Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924), the most influential translators in the early years of the century, were rooted firmly in the *wenren* ideal.[10] Despite their very different backgrounds, education, and experience, they remained committed to the rules that governed the life of literati, rather than that of white-collar professionals. The stylistic choices made by Yan and Lin for their translations, too, imply aspirations of life-style and an aesthetic appeal that points more to the period of intellectual convulsion and transition that was the late Qing than to modern modes of cultural production.

The most active and most influential translators of foreign literature in the first third of the twentieth century were the major writers of the May Fourth era. There is virtually no major writer of that period who did not also produce a fair amount of translations, as Table 4.1 shows.[11]

TABLE 4.1 *Chinese Translators of Foreign Literature, Early Twentieth Century*

Name	Translated from	Authors
Lu Xun	Japanese, English, Russian (?), German	Verne, Kuriyagawa, Fadeev, Gogol
Guo Moruo	Japanese, German (?), Russian (?)	Goethe, Schiller, Tolstoy
Ba Jin	Russian via English (?)	Turgenev, Herzen, Storm, Wilde
Mao Dun	Russian	Chekhov et al.
Yu Dafu	Japanese, German, English (?)	Sinclair, Rousseau
Xia Yan	Russian, Japanese	Gorki, Gogol
Dai Wangshu	French	Chateaubriand, Mérimée, Baudelaire

9 For a detailed study of translators in the late 1940s, on the eve of the CCP takeover, see Q. Chen 2005.

10 On Yan Fu, see Schwartz 1964; Huang 2010; and Huang 2012. On Lin Shu, see Gao 2003; Hu 1995; and Hill 2013.

11 Notable exceptions are Lao She 老舍 (1899–1966), who did not translate (but was fluent in English), and Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904–1986).

Some writers, most notably Lu Xun, did produce a volume of translation that exceeds in quantity that of their other published writings.[12] Translations by prominent writers such as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, and Ba Jin 巴金 (1904–2005) appeared in the major literary journals of the time, often alongside the creative writings and essays of these authors, and thus received a high amount of attention.[13] This juxtaposition and the intertextual linkages between the major writers' creative works and their translations promoted both the translated foreign authors and the translators themselves; many of the works introduced at that time have entered the canon of translated literature read in China to the present day. However, it is equally remarkable that almost none of these translations have survived in print. The fictional works of Lu Xun, Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896–1981), or Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896–1945), remain ubiquitous, but the translations they produced have by and large disappeared from the market, replaced by translations of the same works executed by translators from different generations—professional translators working in the 1930s and 1940s, and in the PRC.[14]

The situation looks very different for a number of translators who emerged since the 1930s. All of the translators in Table 4.2 (below) came to define themselves as professional cultural brokers who relied on their translingual skills, making a living from translation and from closely related businesses (such as editing foreign-language translations in the publishing houses).

Individuals such as Fu Lei, Zhu Shenghao 朱生豪 (1912–1944), and Ge Baoquan 戈寶權 (1913–2000) represent a different approach to translating. Born slightly later than the writers in Table 1, they belong to a different generation. They must be considered specialists, experts focusing on translation from one particular language (although many were fluent in more than one foreign language), and sometimes even one author. Zhu Shenghao had read English poetry since his middle school years; he started translating Shakespeare in the early 1930s, when he worked as an English-language editor for a major publishing house, Shijie shuju 世界書局 (see J. Wu 1990).

12 The amount of Lu Xun's translations notwithstanding, the only edition of his "complete works" containing all his translations remains that published during the Cultural Revolution. They are collected in Lu 1973, vols. 11–20.

13 A case in point is *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New youth), vol. 6, no. 4, which contains poetry, translations of foreign poetry, and an essay on pragmatism, all by Hu Shih 胡適 (1891–1962).

14 This observation does not imply a judgment regarding the quality of the earlier translations. Many of them display highly individualistic choices and stylistic decisions that have greatly enriched the modern Chinese language and constitute a repository of innovation and experiments.

TABLE 4.2 *Chinese Translators Emerging Since the 1930s.*

Name	**Translated from**	**Authors**
Zhu Shenghao	English	Shakespeare
Li Jianwu	French	Molière, Hugo, Rolland, Flaubert
Fu Lei	French	Rolland, Balzac
Ge Baoquan	Russian	Pushkin
Fang Zhong	English	Chaucer
Jiang Tianzuo	English	Dickens, London

Ge Baoquan reportedly spoke four other foreign languages besides Russian; he began translating even before he left university, and won acclaim for his rendering of Pushkin's poetry.[15]

Importantly, many of the translations of foreign literary works these translators produced remain in print and are available on the market half a century after they first appeared. Mei Yi's 梅益 (1913–2003) Chinese rendering of Nikolai Ostrovsky's *How the Steel was Tempered* is still considered the standard edition in China, as are Fu Lei's translations of Romain Rolland and Balzac. Zhu Shenghao's Shakespeare translations have become classics in their own right.[16] The success of these translations, and the approach to translating that speaks from these individuals' efforts, warrants a closer examination of the career paths that led them to choose translation as a profession.

15 On Ge Baoquan see Ji 2001. For his views on translation see Ge 1992.

16 At least four editions of Zhu's Shakespeare translations were published in the first half of 2006; Fu Lei's translation of Rolland's *Jean-Christophe* was reissued in 2002. Li Jianwu's 李健吾 (1906–1982) translation of *Madame Bovary* was reprinted in 2000 and twice in 1999; the latest edition of Pushkin's *Selected Poems* (trans. Ge Baoquan) is from 2004. A new edition of Fang Zhong's 方重 (1902–1992) translation of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* appeared in 2004. Jiang Tianzuo's 蔣天佐 (1913–1990) 1948 translation of Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* was reissued in 2000 and designated a "must read" for the youth by the Ministry of Education. All of the above information taken from National Library of China OPAC system, at http://www.nlc.gov.cn/GB/channel1/index.html (accessed 24 Nov. 2006).

Becoming a Professional Translator: A Case Study

In September 1931, the 25 year-old Fu Lei returned to Shanghai, after a nearly four-year sojourn in Paris. What were the career options for a returned overseas student like Fu? What kinds of occupations were attractive for young, multilingual intellectuals, that also offered them a living? When and how did Fu Lei come to translate, and when did he make translation his profession? On the following pages, I will trace the emergence of translating as a profession in China through a case study, focusing on the career path of Fu Lei. Born on the outskirts of Shanghai in 1908, Fu had received an early education in the Chinese classics before shifting to modern Western-style schools, where he started to learn English and French.[17] He left Shanghai in early 1928 for France, where he was to study literature and arts. It was in Paris that Fu Lei first started to write essays and art critiques; and it was there that he made his first attempts at translation.[18] None of these, however, were published before his return to China.

Upon his arrival in Shanghai, a number of career options presented themselves to Fu Lei: other young intellectuals with a foreign education had ventured into fields such as teaching, research, publishing, journalism, translating, and creative writing. Finally, there was a limited number of positions in the expanding cultural bureaucracy of the four-year old KMT regime in Nanjing. With the rising number of returnees, however, the situation on the job market was becoming tense, especially in cities like Shanghai and Beijing: competition was on the rise, as were the necessary entrance qualifications for young job seekers.

Like many of his peers, Fu Lei initially ventured into teaching. In France, he had met the painter Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994), who was one of the founders and the long-standing principal of the Shanghai Arts School (Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao 上海美術專科學校). Liu Haisu provided Fu with his first job, as a clerk in the school's office (M. Jin 1992, 145). Fu Lei soon also took up teaching, giving lectures in Western art history. However, Fu Lei's first encounter with academic life lasted no more than a few months, as he ran

17 For biographical accounts of Fu Lei's life, see M. Jin 1992; Su 2002; S. Jin 1994; and Ye 1995. I will follow mostly the account given in M. Jin 1992, which is the most comprehensive of the existing biographies.

18 In Paris, Fu Lei produced a translation of the first chapters of Hippolyte Taine's *Histoire de l'art*, a work that deeply influenced him and that he would translate in full at a time of personal crisis in the early 1960s. The Taine fragment can be found in L. Fu 2002, 16: 393–422.

into conflict with some of his colleagues, and with the agitated and highly politicized student body.[19] Classes came to a halt after the Japanese bombing of Shanghai in early 1932, and Fu Lei had to search for alternative sources of income. He returned to the Arts School in the fall, when classes reopened, and resumed his lectures on art history. In lieu of a satisfactory textbook on the subject, Fu Lei began to compile his own materials. The result of this work—Fu's only experiment with academic research in this period—was a volume he finished in 1934 (preface dated from June that year); yet his *Shijie meishu mingzuo ershi jiang* 世界美術名作二十講 (Twenty masterpieces of world art) was published only posthumously in 1985.[20] Fu Lei's second foray into academia lasted not much longer than his first. In fall 1933, he handed in his resignation to Liu Haisu. Besides problems with both colleagues and students, it was Fu Lei's lack of sufficient formal qualifications that made him feel increasingly ill at ease in Shanghai's academic circles: his failure to obtain a regular degree from the Université de Paris after three and a half years of study turned out to be a major obstacle for a career in the increasingly professionalized world of teaching and research. In the years to come, Fu Lei was occasionally offered teaching jobs (such as in Kunming in 1939, and again in 1949 for a position at Tsinghua University in Beijing), but knowing his limits, he politely declined.

During his tenure at the Arts School, Fu Lei tried to gain a foothold in another occupational field he felt better qualified for: literature and arts criticism. To this purpose, he worked to deepen his engagement with the Shanghai art scene. In April 1932, he signed the founding manifesto of the Shockwave Society (Juelan she 決瀾社), a grouping of young artists with the declared goal of reacting against an environment of vulgarity and mediocrity with an explosion of new colors, lines, and forms.[21] Fu Lei helped organize several of the society's exhibitions and contributed essays to their catalogues. He was also invited to edit a volume in a series of art books published by the renowned Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 publishing house. Other volumes in the series,

19 See the account given by Liu Haisu 劉海粟, "Fu Lei er san shi" 傅雷二三事 (A few things about Fu Lei), quoted in M. Jin 1992, 177. Student activism escalated after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in December 1931.

20 For the background of these lectures see the preface by Pang Xunqin 龐薰琹 in L. Fu 2006a.

21 M. Jin 1992, 165. On the Shockwave Society, see Guoli Taiwan meishuguan bianji weiyuanhui 2000.

edited by Liu Haisu, were dedicated to Monet, Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Derain. The volume edited by Fu Lei contained the works of Liu Haisu.[22]

The engagement with the art scene brought Fu Lei naturally in touch with the world of publishing, as well as journalism. In September 1932, he assumed the editorship (together with his colleague Ni Yide 倪貽德) of the Art School's journal *Yishu xunkan* 藝術旬刊 (Art ten-daily). The journal consequently became the outlet for a number of short translations and essays Fu produced on themes including contemporary literature, music, and art. *Art Ten-Daily* also printed some of the essays he had written for his lectures at the School. At the same time, Fu Lei wrote a number of articles and essays for other newspapers, including *Chenbao* 晨報 (Morning post) and *Shishi xinbao* 時事信報 (Current news).[23]

A more ambitious foray into journalism followed in fall 1934. In order to support himself and his family, Fu Lei teamed with a friend to found a weekly newspaper. As the title suggests, the *Shishi huibao* 時事彙報 (Current report) was a digest of articles that had appeared in various sources in the Shanghai press. A number of similar publications existed in Shanghai in the 1930s. As editor-in-chief, Fu Lei had ample opportunities to learn about the pitfalls of journalism. Yet, lacking powerful financial or political backing, the fledgling paper folded within three months of its publication. Fu Lei had been one of the main shareholders; to cover the debts of more than 1,000 *yuan* and to pay the salary of his employees he was forced to sell most of his family's remaining farmland (M. Jin 1992, 197).

Journalism and publishing were attractive options for Chinese intellectuals throughout the Republican era, the personal and financial hazards notwithstanding. More than a decade after the debacle with the *Current Report*, Fu Lei would try his luck again in journalism, this time inspired by the optimistic atmosphere after the Japanese surrender in August 1945.[24] Ending a long period of internal exile during the war, he pooled resources with Zhou Xuliang 周煦良 (1905–1984), another close friend, and started, in October 1945, the biweekly *Xinyu* 新語 (New talk). A general interest magazine, *New Talk* covered politics as well as literature, art, and society. Despite the lofty aspirations of its editors, the journal remained more or less a two-man enterprise. To fill

22 See L. Fu 1932. Fu Lei also wrote a long preface for this volume, explaining with unconcealed flattery why Liu Haisu's works should be seen as on a par with those of the French masters.

23 These essays are collected in L. Fu 2006b.

24 On the intellectual climate of the immediate post-war period see Pepper 1978, chaps. 2–3, 6.

the pages, Fu Lei wrote about a dozen essays over the next weeks and months, published under a variety of pseudonyms. For the first time in his life, Fu Lei ventured, in the topics he covered, beyond literature and art, the fields he was most familiar with and that had been his concern for many years. In a manner reminiscent of the traditional *wenren* ideal of morally and politically engaged intellectuals (that indeed made a short comeback in the immediate post-war period), he wrote on politics, society, and education. More articles—probably written to raise money for the fledgling *New Talk* and to support his family—appeared as contributions to other journals such as *Zhoubao* 周報 (The weekly) and *Minzhu* 民主 (Democracy), and for the liberal daily *Wenhuibao* 文匯報 (The Wenhui daily).[25]

In the volatile political situation of the late 1940s, however, Fu Lei suffered from his lack of experience in journalism, and from a shortage of contacts in the political milieu. The first casualty was the weekly *New Talk*, which ran afoul of KMT censorship after just five issues and was closed on official orders in December 1945. His public engagements had brought Fu Lei into arguments with both KMT and CCP publicists. Over the next two years, he had to defend himself repeatedly against accusations that resulted from his advocacy of a "middle path," rejecting alliances with either the United States or the Soviet Union. In late 1945, he briefly became involved in the founding of the Chinese Society for the Promotion of Democracy (Zhongguo minzhu cujinhui 中國民主促進會), a grouping of several dozen prominent intellectuals led by Ma Xulun 馬敍倫 (1885–1970), Ke Ling 柯靈 (1909–2000), Zhou Jianren 周建人 (1888–1984) and others. However, Fu Lei soon withdrew after clashes and factional disputes within the Society (M. Jin 1992, 245–55).

As Fu Lei had to recognize, journalism and political commentary were relatively well developed professional fields by the late 1940s, populated by seasoned specialists who maneuvered between public opinion, factional and party positions, the censorship regime, and the vagaries of the marketplace. Journalists had formed associations and professional standards since the 1920s and had developed routines and techniques backed up by a large amount of insider knowledge (Xu 2001, chap. 6). For outsiders with limited experience such as Fu Lei, it was increasingly difficult to penetrate the news world. Numerous magazines and newspapers, both large and small, faltered in the late 1940s, becoming victims of either political repression or the prevailing economic chaos, or both. Small startups by relative newcomers like Fu Lei were the most likely to suffer.

25 These articles, as well as those in *Xinyu* are reprinted in L. Fu 2006b.

Fu Lei's experiences with government jobs were equally short-lived. Employment in the cultural bureaucracy was a possible career path for many intellectuals, both in the Republican period and in the PRC: positions in the government were relatively well-paid, offered job security and sufficient time for other, private activities.[26] Frustrated and financially struggling, after the failure of *Current Report*, Fu Lei followed in February 1935 a call to the capital in Nanjing: the writer and art historian Teng Gu 滕固 (1901–1941), a former colleague from the Arts School, worked at the Ministry of Culture and gave Fu Lei a job as department head at the Central Commission for the Conservation of Ancient Artifacts (Zhongyang guwu baoguan weiyuanhui 中央古物保管委員會). Under the pen name Fu Rulin 傅汝霖 he translated and published a volume called *Ge guo wenwu baoguan fagui huibian* 各國文物保管法規彙編 (Collection of laws and regulations from various countries for the protection of artifacts). After only four months, however, in the course of a streamlining of the central government, the Commission was trimmed down and integrated into the Ministry of the Interior, and Fu Lei left (M. Jin 1992, 198).

In November 1936 Fu Lei was invited by Teng Gu to join an investigation team for the conservation of artifacts to study the Longmen 龍門 caves near Luoyang. Their assignment was to measure, photograph, and describe the caves, a strenuous job during the winter months in impoverished Henan province, that took two months to complete (M. Jin 1992, 200–3). Six weeks after the July 1937 incident that triggered World War II, the whole Fu family fled Shanghai by boat; travelling via Hong Kong, they tried unsuccessfully to reach Guangxi to seek shelter with friends. Frustrated by the chaotic traffic situation that barred their onward travel, Fu Lei took his family back to Shanghai, where he locked himself up, hibernating at home for more than a year (206f). In February 1939, he received a call from Teng Gu, who had been named head of the National Arts School (Guoli yizhuan 國立藝專) that had resulted from the merger of the Beijing Arts School and the Hangzhou Arts School; Fu Lei was invited to become Dean of Studies and accordingly set out for Kunming (207). Upon arriving in Yunnan, however, Fu learned that the National Arts School was rife with factional infighting, and he soon ran into difficulties with

26 Intellectuals' involvement with the KMT government or even the Nanjing-based Wang Jingwei regime during the war became a liability, especially after 1949. There are few detailed studies about the number of intellectuals who took up government positions and the degree of their involvement with the KMT party organization and the regime of Wang Jingwei. Some hints can be gained from M. Chen 2005. The best study of the wartime period is P. Fu 1993. For a case study (that covers only the period 1912–1926, however) see H. Wu 2005.

headmaster Teng Gu and Teng's associates in the notorious "CC Clique" of the KMT. Together with Wen Yiduo 聞一多(1899–1946) he drew up a syllabus for the school, but eventually never assumed his position. In May, he returned once more to Shanghai, where he spent the rest of the war in the seclusion of his study (207f).

It was during the war time, then, that Fu Lei consciously made translating the center of his career. Fu Lei's earliest translations, during his days in Paris and immediately after returning to Shanghai, were either language exercises or driven by other purposes, such as teaching at the Arts School, or to support his arguments about Western art in *Art Ten-Daily*. During the upheaval in Shanghai in early 1932, when his first teaching engagement had fallen apart, Fu Lei had joined the Shanghai bureau of Agence Havas (the news agency that later become the Agence France Press), where he worked as a translator for half a year. Among his colleagues at Havas was Li Liewen 黎烈文 (1904–72), another acclaimed translator (and an acquaintance of Fu Lei from his Paris days).[27] Work with a foreign employer provided struggling returned students with an outlet for their language skills, an indication of the growing importance of specialized knowledge in the formation of modern occupations. The employment with Havas meant a degree of job security and a steady income for individuals such as Fu and Li in a time of crisis. Under the leadership of Havas' branch manager Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之 (1896–1986), who had a reputation for his excellent translation style, they could sharpen their stylistic skills.

In 1933, Fu Lei published his first book-length translation, the rendering of a fictional biography of Charlot, the protagonist in most of Charlie Chaplin's films (L. Fu 1933; 2002, vol. 15). This book, appearing under the title *Xialuo waizhuan* 夏洛外傳 (Biography of Charlot), apparently targeted the popular market and Shanghai's cinephile audiences. Given Fu Lei's stated interest in high art, this project was clearly born out of his difficult financial situation in the 1930s. Ironically, several publishers turned down the manuscript, and Fu Lei, frustrated, decided to publish it under the pseudonym *Jifeng* 疾風 (Storm) by his own means, bearing the sarcastic inscription "Self-Publishing House" (Ziji chubanshe 自己出版社) on the cover (M. Jin 1992, 176). The motives, other than financial need, for this rather obscure translation project remain unclear. Fu Lei himself later disapproved of it; the little volume was not

27 See M. Jin 1992, 164. None of the translations Fu Lei executed for Havas has been included in his *Complete Works* or other collections of his work; it is unclear if these texts still exist and if they are identifiable as the work of their translator. However, it is also an indication that the sort of bread-and-butter work Fu Lei did for Havas was not regarded as proper translation activity by the later compilers of his works.

reprinted during his lifetime. From his translation activities in the early 1930s it is clear that Fu Lei regarded translation as merely a sideline job, as but one means among many to make a living. He discovered that his language skills were a marketable commodity, but he had not yet come to regard translation as his calling; his interests remained focused, until the late 1930s, on art and art criticism.

Fu Lei's first more serious translation projects date from late 1933. In November he completed the translation of Romain Rolland's Beethoven biography (the first chapter of which he had rendered into Chinese while still in France), and in early 1934, he translated Rolland's biographies of Michelangelo and Tolstoy into Chinese.[28] It is not clear why Fu Lei decided to produce these three translations. They are obviously more in line with his interests in European literature and art, and his desire to popularize these in China. Yet his decision may have been influenced by market considerations as well: by 1933, Romain Rolland was by no means a stranger in China. Articles on Rolland had appeared in Chinese journals and newspapers since 1921, and he was quite frequently mentioned, translated, and even biographed.[29] Rolland's popularity in China was partly the result of a transcultural gentlemen's agreement: when the French writer's favorable remarks on Lu Xun's "True Story of Ah Q" became known in China (as well as Rolland's suggestion that Lu Xun should be nominated for the Nobel Prize, which he himself had won in 1915), Lu Xun felt obliged to reciprocate the kindness of this French *grand homme* (Foster 2001). He did so by devoting ample space to Rolland's fiction, his articles, his life, and his correspondence in his journal *Mangyuan* 莽原 (Wilderness) (Mangyuan 1926).

Nor was Rolland's monumental novel *Jean-Christophe* unknown in China. In 1926, the acclaimed *Fiction Monthly* published the first installment of Rolland's novel, translated by Jing Yinyu 敬隐渔, a Chinese student in Paris (Foster 2001, 144–6).[30] Fortunately for Fu Lei, Rolland's oeuvre was so extensive that translators before him had rendered only a fraction of his works into Chinese. Given the writer's popularity, Fu Lei's choice was most likely influenced by the tastes and demands of the market in Shanghai.

In 1936, when his forays into several other fields seemed to falter, Fu Lei thus came back to translating in a more organized fashion than before. First of all, he continued where Jing Yinyu had left off and embarked on a huge project, a complete translation of *Jean-Christophe*—the original had been published in

28 The three biographies are reprinted in L. Fu 2002, l: 11.

29 For the first article on Romain Rolland, see B. Shen 1921, 3–4.

30 The excerpt appeared in issues 1–3 (1926). See Meng and Li 2005, 626.

ten volumes with altogether 2,000 pages. The first volume of Fu Lei's translation appeared in 1937; volumes two to four followed in 1941. With Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 (Commercial press), Fu Lei found a highly professional publisher and a market heavyweight; the Commercial Press could boast the resources necessary for a project on this scale, and had the marketing skills that would make the Chinese *Jean-Christophe* viable.

Fu Lei spent three years on this translation, from 1936 to 1939. These years must be regarded as the turning point when Fu Lei began to take translation seriously and decided to embark on a professional career as a translator. In the following years, he was still vacillating between market-driven projects with a broader appeal, and nineteenth-century French fiction, which eventually became his signature field. During his wartime hibernation, Fu Lei translated popular works, including André Maurois' *Sentiments et coutumes* (1935), *Meipe* (1935), and *Voltaire* (1936); Bertrand Russell's *The Conquest of Happiness* (1942); Georges Duhamel's *Civilisation* (1942) and Balzac's *Albert Savarus* and *Le Père Goriot* (both 1944) (M. Jin 1992, 209). Only the three Maurois volumes, however,were published immediately (all by the Commercial Press). Due to the economic disruptions of the war and Fu Lei's distrust of the cultural authorities of the Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 government, publication of the other translations was delayed until after the defeat of Japan. The Balzac volumes appeared in 1946 with Luotuo shudian 駱駝書店 as publisher; the Russell and Duhamel works were issued in 1947 by Nanguo chubanshe 南國出版社 (see the table in L. Fu 2002, 20: 341–52).

The volume of Fu Lei's translations increased after 1936, and with it Fu's reliance on translating as a way to earn a living for himself and his family. The clearest sign of his increasing consciousness of translation as a profession with professional standards are several re-translations and revisions that he undertook since 1942: no longer satisfied with his 1933 translation of Rolland's Beethoven biography, he produced a new rendering that was published four years later, in 1946, by Luotuo shudian. In anticipation of the publication of Duhamel's *Civilisation*, Fu withdrew his translation from the publisher and produced a new version in March 1947. These re-translations were a sign of the rising professional and technical standards that Fu Lei set for his works. In the years to come, he would continue to examine his earlier translations with a critical eye: he produced a greatly altered new version of *Le Père Goriot* in 1951,[31] and in spring 1952 Fu Lei set out to re-translate his most ambitious project

31 For an analysis of Fu Lei's three different *Le Père Goriot* translations (the last version is from 1963) see Volland 2009.

ever, Rolland's *Jean-Christophe*. He spent almost a year on the new version that eventually appeared with Pingming chubanshe 平明出版社 as publisher.[32]

Fu Lei's deepening engagement in translation shows a clear trend, a progression from marginal texts to literary classics, from shorter non-fictional or semi-fictional texts to fictional masterpieces, and from a casual attitude towards translation to much greater scrutiny and exactitude. This trend reflects an increasing awareness of professional standards and a growing consciousness of translation as a profession in its own right. For Fu Lei, translation became an occupation of choice that would henceforth consume most of his time and energy, but in return would afford the translator an income to support himself and his family. After unsuccessful experiments with a range of alternative occupations throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Fu Lei found himself equipped with a set of skills and experience that allowed him to take up translation as a permanent profession by the end of the decade.

In 1948, when the civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communists moved southwards, Fu Lei and his family once again evacuated Shanghai, seeking shelter in Kunming. Financial difficulties, however, forced him to move to Hong Kong in early 1949, where he hoped to find better publication opportunities (M. Jin 1992, 256). In the British colony Fu witnessed the proclamation of the People's Republic by Mao Zedong, and the retreat of the Nationalist forces to Taiwan. In December, he made up his mind and went North by ship, traveling through Tianjin to Beijing. In the new capital, he met with a number of friends—Chen Shutong 陳叔通 (1876–1966), Ma Xulun, Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910–1998) and wife—and tried to understand the new situation for intellectuals. Through Qian Zhongshu, he was approached by the historian Wu Han 吳晗 (1909–1969) with an offer to teach French at Tsinghua University. Fu Lei, however, declined, preferring to return to Shanghai (257). He was firm in his decision. Fu Lei had found his professional identity in what had emerged over the previous two decades as the most reliable occupation, a source of income as well as personal self-fulfillment: translation.

The Institutionalization of the Profession

The establishment of translation as a profession entered a new stage with the founding of the PRC in October 1949. The socialist regime provided new impulses that had profound effects on the structure of the trade and the identity of China's translators. The CCP's decision to "lean to one side" (*yi bian*

32 For a study of the two translations, see Song 2006.

dao 一邊倒) and “learn from the Soviet Union” (*xuexi Sulian* 學習蘇聯) initiated a rush to copy patterns of social organization, often in a wholesale manner, from the Soviet Union. As the new regime established its administrative apparatus across the nation, publishing houses were reorganized and the modes of cultural production underwent profound changes. At the same time, the need to study the Soviet model forced China’s translators to reorient their professional outlook: Russian replaced English and Japanese as the most important source language, while the technocratic approach to economic construction and governance meant that science texts (and their translators) henceforth afforded a much higher prestige than at any time before 1949. These developments clearly influenced the evolution of translation as a new profession.

In the months after the takeover, the new regime set out to consolidate its grip over all strata of society through the organization and regimentation of social life.[33] Chinese of all walks of life were integrated into the mammoth project of socialist construction. In the countryside, the pattern of organization was horizontal, that is, based on place of residence. In the urban areas, in contrast, the Party opted for a vertical mode of integration, unifying trades and their representative organizations and thus stratifying the populace along occupational lines. This undertaking accelerated trends towards professionalization that had been underway since the Republican era, and gave a boost to the identity of younger, fledgling professions, including that of translators.[34]

The new organizational patterns emerged only gradually. The first professional organization of Chinese translators was founded in September 1949 in Shanghai. The *Shanghai fanyi gongzuozhe xiehui* 上海翻譯工作者協會 (Shanghai Association of Translation Workers) was set up by a group of activist translators; it was led by Dong Qiusi 董秋斯 (1899–1969), a translator of English literature.[35] While little is known about the Shanghai Association, it was at best loosely affiliated with the municipal government.[36] Dong had been active in the League of Left-Wing Writers in the 1930s, but later became a member of one of the democratic parties. The Association’s organ *Fanyi yuekan* 翻譯月刊 (Translation monthly) carried fiction translated by its members, but also theoretical debates on translation and news from the Shanghai publishing and translation scene. It ceased publication in April 1951, after the Association dissolved (Lin 2005, 190). The exact reasons for the premature end of the

33 These processes and the problems they encountered are discussed in Brown and Pickowicz 2008.

34 Compare Schurmann 1968, esp. chaps. 6 and 7; and Harding 1981.

35 On Dong Qiusi, see Lin 2005, 142.

36 For some details on the Shanghai Association see Zha 2003, 59, 65.

Shanghai Association are unclear, though its local nature, its non-Party character, and the gradual integration of translators into publishing houses certainly played a role. The absence of a national association, a representative body for all translation workers in China, made the existence of a Shanghai Association an oddity: a local branch without a national umbrella organization contravened the organizational principles laid out by the new regime. Secondly, the CCP moved quickly to disband trade associations and organizations not affiliated with the government. Finally, it is unclear how successful the Association was in uniting the translators in Shanghai (Fu Lei, for instance, did not join) and who took over the leadership after the departure of Dong Qiusi, who went to Beijing to assume the editorship of the newly founded journal *Fanyi tongbao* 翻譯通報 (Translation bulletin).

While the Shanghai Association was struggling, an institutional nexus for the national-level administration of translation affairs was established in the Compilation and Translation Bureau (Bianyi ju 編譯局) of the General Publication Administration (Chuban zongshu 出版總署, hereafter GPA). In July 1950, the GPA, a part of the central government, decided to publish a newsletter for translators and other personnel involved in the translation business. *Translation Bulletin* was originally designed as an internal newsletter, but because of vivid interest in the journal and numerous requests for subscription, the publishers explained, it was transformed into an open-circulation journal from its seventh issue in January 1951. *Translation Bulletin* was published by Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, the publishing arm of the Party-state carved recently out of the Party's Xinhua shudian 新華書店. The address of the journal's editorial offices, found in the colophon, is identical with that of Renmin chubanshe and the GPA (10 Dong zongbu hutong 東總布胡同), emphasizing its official nature.[37]

The first openly available edition of *Translation Bulletin* carried an editorial written by Shen Zhiyuan 沈志遠 (1902–1965), the head of the GPA's Compilation and Translation Bureau. Entitled "One step forward, one step upwards!" (Z. Shen 1951), this foreword gives a sense of the journal's goal, and of the destination of translation as a profession in the PRC. Shen lists the tasks of the journal right at the beginning of his preface: they were to

> (1) strengthen contact among translation workers; (2) communicate translation experiences; (3) promote criticism and self-criticism in translation circles; and (4) to raise translation standards.

37 Information taken from *Translation Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1951), colophon.

This outline closely resembles the tasks formulated for professional organizations across all trades in the early PRC. Organization, communication, and the development of generally accepted professional standards were among the major concerns of the young regime. Translation, quickly falling in line with dozens of other trades and occupations, was no exception to the changes in workplace relations taking place all over the PRC. In the six months of its *neibu* 內部 (internal) publication, *Translation Bulletin* had reached over 1,300 Chinese translators, had contacted them and noted their whereabouts—possibly in anticipation of the founding of a nationwide professional organization. The journal, Shen summed up, had "laid some first foundations for the future organization (*zuzhihua* 組織化) and planning (*jihuahua* 計劃化) of translation work (2)."

Professionalization required, first of all, the organization of all stakeholders: translators, organizations involved in translation and compilation, and publishing houses. Furthermore, the journal was to serve as a textbook for the numerous young translators who were expected to enter the profession in the near future. Exchange of experiences and discussions about methods and theories of translation were to introduce professional standards and gradually raise the quality of translations. Organization and standardization would also facilitate the policing of the trade. Shen complained:

> . . . there are currently still many sloppily produced, bad translations on the market. This is quite harmful for the broad readers. We attack bad translations in order to help the growth of good translations and thus do a great service for the people. (Z. Shen 1951, 3)

The journal, he announced, would expose problems and criticize what the authorities considered harmful tendencies in the translation industry.

In spite of indications to the contrary, no national organization of translators was launched over the next two years.[38] In 1952, *Translation Bulletin* underwent a decisive change; for the next eighteen months until its eventual closure, the journal published exclusively publication and translation plans, listing

38 Not until 1982 was an Association of Chinese Translators founded, with the veteran translator Jiang Chunfang 姜椿芳 (1912–1987) as president. The Association has since moved to promote contact and exchanges, to offer training for active translators, and to implement new standards for translation. Most importantly, it has helped to raise the profile of translators in the PRC. See the account and the documents at Zhongguo fanyi xiehui (ed.). *Zhongguo yixie wang* at http://www.tac-online.org.cn/gyxh/txt/2005-06/26/content_79984.htm (accessed 5 Dec. 2006).

titles that were recently published or under preparation by publishing houses across the nation. The journal thus became even more clearly an arm of the government, serving administrative purposes and coordinating translation in the PRC. In the meantime, the organizational patterns of the trade had shifted. A tiny minority of translators was accepted into the foreign literature group of the Chinese Writers Association (Zuoxie 作協) and its local chapters. The vast majority, beginning in 1950, were assigned work with publishing houses that henceforth served as their work units (*danwei* 單位). In line with the Soviet model, this move stressed the technical character of translating over the creative element; it also reduced translators' visibility and subordinated their professional autonomy under that of larger, more influential groups. Translators in the PRC thus became "translation workers" (*fanyi gongzuozhe* 翻譯工作者). Ironically, the full establishment of translation as a profession, governed by occupational specialization and clear work standards, thus coincided with the translators' loss of professional and individual autonomy.

Fu Lei was one of the lucky few who became professional writer-translators under the auspices of the Writers Association. His affiliation provided him ample time and resources to concentrate on projects of his choice. The Association paid a salary that was handsome though not extravagant. For the first time in his life, Fu Lei thus could focus on translating, without bothering about any other occupational distractions. Over the next decade and a half, he devoted his time and energy to the projects closest to his heart: he continued translating French realist authors, most notably Romain Rolland and Balzac, and eventually took up where he had left off thirty years earlier, completing his translation of Hippolyte Taine's *Histoire de l'Art*. The professional standards Fu Lei set for himself kept rising: apart from Rolland's *Jean-Christophe*, he kept revising his earlier works, in some cases—such as Balzac's *Père Goriot*—more than once. Fu Lei's professional identity had evolved and consolidated in line with the evolution of the profession itself.

Conclusion

In this study, I have traced the emergence of translating as a profession in twentieth-century China. Professionalization, as discussed by scholars such as Xu Xiaoqun (Xu 2001), is a fundamentally modern and urban phenomenon, shaped by the modernization of China's newly emerging metropolises, but also a defining feature of Chinese modernity itself. In contrast to medicine or law, translation was late to develop as a profession in Republican China. Never directly threatened in their livelihood and professional

autonomy by government or Party authorities, translators did not find the same strong incentives to form associations, to set professional standards, and to defend these against claims from outsiders trying to compete in the same field.

A review of the career opportunities and choices available to Chinese intellectuals with advanced foreign-language skills shows that since the 1930s, generalists found themselves increasingly at a disadvantage. They were sidelined in fields such as academic research, teaching, journalism, or art criticism, in danger of being marginalized by other groups with better if more narrow qualifications and a stronger track record of expertise and insider knowledge. In the course of the differentiation of intellectual occupations in the 1930s and 1940s, translation emerged as a profession in its own right, a trade that demanded higher standards and more reflection from its practitioners, but in turn promised them a relatively steady income in return for the time and energy invested. A fundamental change in who translated in China and how translations were executed is thus discernible from the 1920s through the 1940s, in the course of which generalist intellectuals were replaced by a new crop of translators, specialists who came to understand themselves as professional translators, such as Fu Lei.

The consolidation of translation as a profession occurred in the context of the profound social and cultural changes after 1949. The newly emerging patterns of social stratification and regimentation confined the vast majority of Chinese translators to publishing houses across the nation, where they received a stable income and professional recognition, but lost much of their autonomy and individual agency. By the mid-1950s, the writer-cum-translators of the May Fourth era had all but disappeared, and the tasks of writing and academic research on the one hand and translating on the other were clearly separated. Chinese translators thus became a professional group with a typically low-key status, working in accordance with uniform standards and rules. Ironically, the highly professional and regulated occupation came to be regarded thirty years later, in the early 1980s, as a dull and unresponsive bureaucracy unable to satisfy the diversifying needs for texts in reforming China. Young academics and writers once again saw themselves forced to enter the scene, to venture into translation as a sideline business.[39] However, once the publishing industry and the profession of translation were shaken up, by the early 1990s, intellectuals once again retreated to the universities and writers returned to writing, leaving

39 On the "translation fever" of the 1980s and its background see Chen and Jin 1997, 175–82 and *passim*.

translation by and large to professional translators, in repetition of the development half a century ago.

Works Cited

Bergère, Marie-Claire. 1992. “The Shanghai Bankers’ Association, 1915–1927: Modernization and the Institutionalization of Local Solidarities.” In Frederic Wakeman and Wen-hsin Yeh, eds. *Shanghai Sojourners,* 1–14. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies.

Brown, Jeremy, and Paul G. Pickowicz, eds. 2008. *Dilemmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People’s Republic of China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Chen, Fong-ching and Jin Guantao. 1997. *From Youthful Manuscripts to River Elegy: The Chinese Popular Cultural Movement and Political Transformation, 1979–1989*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Chen, Mingyuan 陳明遠. 2005. *Wenhuaren de jingji shenghuo* 文化人的經濟生活 (The economic life of intellectuals). Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe.

Chen, Qingsheng 陳青生. 2005. “40 niandai houban qi Shanghai de waiguo wenxue yijie” 40 年代後半期上海的外國文學譯界 (Translation and introduction of foreign literature in Shanghai in the second half of the 1940s). *Xin wenxue shiliao* 新文學史料 (New literature materials) 4, (2002): 112–20. Reprinted in Cheng Guangwei 程光煒, ed., *Dushi wenhua yu Zhongguo dangdai wenxue* 都市文化與中國當代文學 (Urban culture and contemporary Chinese literature), 251–61. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

Foster, Paul B. 2001. “The Ironic Inflation of National Character: Lu Xun’s International Reputation, Romain Rolland’s Critique of ‘The True Story of Ah Q’, and the Nobel Prize.” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 13, no.1: 140–68.

Fu, Lei 傅雷. 2002. *Fu Lei quanji* 傅雷全集 (Complete works of Fu Lei). 20 vols. Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe.

———. 2006a. *Shijie meishu mingzuo ershi jiang: chongbian caitu ben* 世界美術名作二十講：重編彩圖本 (Twenty lectures on masterpieces of world art). New ed.with color illustrations. Ed. Fu Min 傅敏. Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexue chubanshe.

———. 2006b. *Fu Lei wenji: wenyi juan* 傅雷文集：文藝卷 (Works of Fu Lei: literature and art volume). Ed. Fu Min 傅敏. Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe.

———, ed. 1932. *Liu Haisu* 劉海粟. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju.

Fu, Lei 傅雷 (Jifeng 疾風), trans. 1933. *Xialuo waizhuan: Zhuobielin chuangzao de yingxiong* 夏洛外傳：卓別麟創造的英雄 (Biography of Charlot: the hero

created by Chaplin). Shanghai: Ziji chubanshe. Original work by Phillippe Soupault as *Charlot* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1931).

Fu, Poshek. 1993. *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gao, Wanlong. 2003. "Recasting Lin Shu: A Cultural Approach to Literary Translation." PhD thesis, Griffith University, Brisbane.

Ge, Baoquan 戈寶權. 1992. *Zhong-wai wenxue yinyuan: Ge Baoquan bijiao wenxue lunwen ji* 中外文學因緣：戈寶權比較文學論文集 (The interrelation of Sino-Foreign literature: collection of essays in comparative literature by Ge Baoquan). Beijing: Beijing chubanshe.

Goodman, Bryna. 1995. *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Guoli Taiwan meishuguan bianji weiyuanhui 國立臺灣美術館編輯委員會 (National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts Editorial Committee), ed. 2000. *Juelan she yu 30 niandai Shanghai* 決瀾社與30年代上海 (The Shockwave Society and Shanghai in the 1930s). Taichung: Guoli Taiwan meishuguan.

Harding, Harry. 1981. *Organizing China: The Problem of Bureaucracy, 1949–1976*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hill, Michael G. 2013. *Lin Shu, Inc.: Making an Icon in Modern China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hu, Ying. 1995. "The Translator Transfigured: Lin Shu and the Cultural Logic of Writing in the Late Qing." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 3, no. 1: 69–96.

Huang, Kewu 黃克武. 2010. *Wei shi zhi an: Yan Fu yu jindai Zhongguo de wenhua zhuanxing* 惟適之安：嚴復與近代中國的文化轉型 (Yan Fu and the cultural transformation of modern China). Taipei: Lianjing chuban.

———. [Max K.W. Huang]. 2012. "The Competition Between the Newly Translated Terms Invented by Yan Fu and by the Japanese in the Late Qing." In James St. André and Peng Hsiao-yen, eds., *China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer through Translation, 1829–1910,* 51–70. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Ji, Xianlin 季羡林, ed. 2001. *Ge Baoquan: Wenhua he youyi de shizhe* 戈寶權：文化和友誼的使者 (Ge Baoquan, messenger of culture and friendship). Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe.

Jin, Mei 金梅. 1992. *Yitan ju jiang: Fu Lei zhuan* 譯壇巨匠：傅雷傳 (A great master in the world of translation: a biography of Fu Lei). Taipei: Yeqiang chuban youxian gongsi.

Jin, Shenghua 金聖華. 1994. *Fu Lei yu tade shijie* 傅雷與他的世界 (Fu Lei and his world). Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian.

Larson, Magali Sarfatti. 1977. *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lin, Huangtian 林煌天, ed. 2005. *Zhongguo fanyi cidian* 中國翻譯詞典 (Dictionary of translation in China) 2d ed. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe.

Lu, Xun 魯迅. 1973. *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (Complete works of Lu Xun). 20 vols. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

Mangyuan 莽原 (Wilderness). 1926. Vol. 1, nos. 7–8, 19–24.

Meng, Zhaoyi 孟昭毅 and Li Zaidao 李載道, eds. 2005. *Zhongguo fanyi wenxue shi* 中國翻譯文學史 (A history of translated literature in China). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.

Mitter, Rana. 2004. *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pepper, Suzanne. 1978. *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945–1949*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schurmann, Franz. 1968. *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*. 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schwarcz, Vera. 1986. *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schwartz, Benjamin. 1964. *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Shen, Bing 沈冰. 1921. "Luolan de jinzuo" 羅蘭的近作 (The recent works by Roman Rolland). *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (Fiction monthly) 12, no. 1: 3–4.

Shen, Zhiyuan 沈志遠. 1951. "Qianjin yi bu, tigao yi bu" 前進一步，提高一步(One step forward, one step upwards!). *Fanyi tongbao* 翻譯通報 (Translation bulletin) 2, no. 1 (Jan.): 1–3.

Song, Xuezhi 宋學智. 2006. *Fanyi wenxue jingdian de yingxiang yu jieshou: Fu yi* Yuehan Kelisiduofu *yanjiu* 翻譯文學經典的影響與接受：傅譯《約翰·克利斯朵夫》研究 (The influence and reception of the classics of translated literature: Fu Lei's translations of *Jean-Christophe*). Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen chubanshe.

Su, Liqun 蘇立群. 2002. *Fu Lei biezhuan* 傅雷別傳 (An individual biography of Fu Lei). Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian.

Vittinghoff, Natascha. 2002. *Die Anfänge des Journalismus in China, 1860–1911*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Volland, Nicolai. 2009. "A Linguistic Enclave: Translation and Language Policies in the Early People's Republic of China." *Modern China* 35, no. 5: 467–94.

Wilensky, Harold L. 1964. "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *American Journal of Sociology* 70: 137–58.

Wu, Haiyong 吳海勇. 2005. *Shi wei gongwuyuan de Lu Xun* 時為公務員的魯迅 (Lu Xun as a public servant). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe.

Wu, Jiemin 吳潔敏. 1990. *Zhu Shenghao zhuan* 朱生豪傳 (Biography of Zhu Shenghao). Shanghai: Shanghai waiyu jiaoyu chubanshe.

Xu, Xiaoqun. 2001. *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ye, Yonglie 葉永烈. 1995. *Fu Lei yu Fu Cong* 傅雷與傅聰 (Fu Lei and Fu Cong). Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe.

Yeh, Wen-hsin. 1990. *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919–1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.

Zha, Mingjian 查明建. 2003. "Yishixingtai, shixue yu wenxue fanyi xuanze guifan: 20 shiji 50–80 niandai Zhongguo de (hou) xiandaizhuyi wenxue fanyi yanjiu" 意識形態、詩學與文學翻譯選擇規範: 20世紀50—80年代的（後）現代主義文學翻譯研究 (Ideology, poetics and rules of choice in literary translation: research on (post)modern literary translation in China from the 1950s to the 1980s). PhD diss., Lingnan University, Hong Kong.

SECTION TWO

Translation as a Shaping Force

∴

CHAPTER 5

Force of Psyche: Electricity or Void? Re-examination of the Hermeneutics of the Force of Psyche in Late Qing China[1]

Joyce C.H. Liu

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the concept of psyche in the writings of Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865–98), a late Qing intellectual. In Tan's concept of psyche as void, we see a sharp contrast with the "psycho-physical parallelism" that was popular in late nineteenth-century China. Late Qing intellectuals developed a mode of hermeneutics that, using the metaphor of electricity, viewed *xinli* 心力 or "psyche force" as a force that is tamable, utilizable, and controllable. Through modification of the psyche force, *xin* 心 (the psyche) can evolve into a strong and healthy condition so that it becomes the foundation from which the nation might be saved and a new people created. The essay on *xinmin* 新民, or the New People, by Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) (Liang [1902] 1999) is a typical example. In this mode of thinking, the mind has to be exercised like a muscle and the "vile" and "backward" thoughts have to be cleansed and erased. This clearly very westernized and even Christianized version of the psyche developed partly from the vast range of knowledge introduced into China during the modernization movement, through second-hand Chinese translations using Japanese translations from western languages, and through direct translations from western languages to Chinese by missionaries in China.[2]

Tan Sitong, though familiar with much of the newly imported western and Meiji thought, including chemistry, physics, mathematics and politics, offered a radically different interpretation of psyche force (*xinli*), suggesting that *xin* (psyche) is both void and a space of "micro-appearing-disappearing"

1 This essay was previously published in *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* 35.2 (Fall 2009) and has been revised and updated for this present volume.

2 During the Meiji Restoration 明治維新, or *Meiji Ishin* in Japanese, starting from 1868, many Japanese translations of Western works were re-translated into Chinese by late Qing intellectuals. Missionaries in China were also deeply involved in the introduction and translation of modern Western works on physics, chemistry, optics, agriculture, medicine, mathematics, psychology, and sociology. Among those missionaries were William A. P. Martin 丁韙良 (1827–1916), Young J. Allen 林樂知 (1836–1907), Richard Timothy 李提摩太 (1845–1919), and John Fryer 傅蘭雅 (1839–1928).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789047270220_007

微生滅, and that its force could subvert the fixed nominal system and power relations. The proximity and yet radical difference between Tan's version of *xinli* and that of Liang Qichao point to a significant question concerning the conceptualization of the psyche in the Chinese context. Tan's version of *xinli*, with its roots in Buddhist thought, in my view shows a complex topological understanding of the human psyche and of human discourse—one that is worth engaging. What is more, Tan's concept of psyche bears interesting parallels to both Lacan's formulation of the compact space of the libido and Badiou's concept of void. In this chapter, I will attempt to probe into these affinities so that the concept of a dynamic topology in Tan's concept of *xinli*, as well as its political and ethical implications, might thereby become thinkable to our contemporary world.

Force of Psyche: Electricity and the New Thought Movement

At the end of the nineteenth century, in the wave of agitated and confused struggles toward the new age of modernity, there emerged a peculiar mode of hermeneutics of psyche in late Qing China. *Xinli*, literally meaning psyche force, was a term much in use, as a cathected token, or an *objet a*, expressing the strong desire for a rejuvenated nation. Liang Qichao and his contemporaries used *xinli* in their writings to indicate the force of psyche as something that can be tamed, cured, cultivated, regulated and utilized. More explicitly, psyche force is equated in their writings to something like electricity. They believed that by summoning up the people's psyche force and putting it to use they could cure what they saw as a stagnant and diseased old China. Starting from Liang Qichao's theory of *xinmin* 新民 (New people), the primacy of a concentrated and powerful force of psyche, *xinli*, was stressed. Sun Yatsen in his theory of revolution also insisted that the mind of the people must be cured and governed before the nation could be saved (*jiuguo bixian zhixin* 救國必先治心). Chiang Kaishek, likewise, elaborated his theory of the "Law of the Heart for Revolution" (*geming xinfa* 革命心法) in his New Life Movement (*xinshenghuo yundong* 新生活運動) in 1934, a movement of total education and militarization of the entire nation. Mao Zedong also confessed that his own revolutionary concept of subjective dynamic was very much influenced by Tan Sitong.[3] Mao wrote an essay titled "*Xin zhi li*" 心之力 (The force of "xin")

3 Mao's revolutionary slogan "*chong-jue wang-luo*" (衝決網羅, breaking through all trapping nets), was borrowed from Tan Sitong's book *Renxue* 仁學 (A book on love) (Tan [1897] 1998).

in 1917, when he was 24, and was much praised by his teacher Yang Changji 楊昌濟.[4]

This discourse on the education of "*xin*," in the mode of the utilization of electricity, paradoxically prepared the path for the governmentality practiced by later governments, in China and Taiwan, especially during the nation-building period of the PRC government as well as the Martial Law Period announced by the ROC government after the 1950s. It was reflected in the educational and cultural policies of thought reform, thought censorship and total mobilization of the spirits and minds of all national subjects. This mode of discourse is what I would term the discourse of "psyche governmentality" or "psyche-politics," a powerful technique in the process of subjectivation.

The term *xinli* was coined by John Fryer 傅蘭雅 (1839–1928), and first appeared in 1896 in a small book translated by him entitled *Zhixin mianbingfa* 治心免病法 (A method for the avoidance of illness by controlling the mind) (Fryer 1896). Fryer lived in China for thirty-five years and played a significant role in the transmission of Western knowledge and disciplinary episteme into the late Qing intellectual milieu.[5] He was involved in the translation of more than 130 books, mostly scientific textbooks in the fields of biology, mathematics, chemistry, physics, medical sciences, and sociology. Very much disturbed by Qing's defeat in the first Sino-Japan war in 1895, he started to actively promote moral education in China. For example, he invited submissions for publication in the newspaper *Shenbao* 申報, a popular and widely distributed newspaper, in a public contest for "the New Novel" (*xinxiaoshuo* 新小說). The purpose of the contest was to criticize opium-smoking, the examination system, and foot-binding, and to offer proposals for solutions. This activity was later supported and eagerly continued by Liang Qichao. Liang, in many of his articles, elaborated upon the importance of moral education through the use of the New Novel. Liang also edited a journal, *Xinxiaoshuo,* and called for contributions. These calls for the New Novel were very effective and attracted a large number of educational novels (Hanan 2004, 125).

Sun Yat-sen's notion of "curing the mind" (*zhixin*) and Chiang Kaishek's proposal of the "law of heart" (*xinfa*) both suggested the importance of "xin."

4 According to Ross Terrill's *Mao: A Biography*, Mao wrote the essay "*Xin zhi li*" in 1917 for Yang Changji's class on ethics. Yang graded Mao's essay with a score of 100+5 (Terrill 2006, 31). Though there are various versions circulated on the Internet, none have been officially verified as the authentic text of Mao's writing. See Terrill 2006.

5 Fryer, an English missionary, lived in China from 1861 to 1896. After he left the church, he joined the Translation Offices where he worked as translator of new Western knowledge, first in Shanghai and then in Beijing. See Wang 2000.

Fryer's *A Method for the Avoidance of Illness by Controlling the Mind* was emblematic of the discursive economy in late Qing China. His translation was based on Henry Wood's small book, *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography*, which had been published originally in 1893 (Wood [1893] 1899). Fryer started his translation after China's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, and it reflected his enthusiasm and anxious engagement in the contemporary political and social conditions of the late Qing period. He deliberately extended Wood's preface and inserted three pages of his own personal comments on the opium houses, crimes, wars, disasters and famine of the late Qing society to stress the importance of the education of the minds and hearts of people. Fryer also inserted a long passage from a textbook by David Ames Wells (1828–98), *Principles and Applications of Chemistry* (Wells [1872] 2005), translated by Fryer himself, into his explanatory translation of Wood's notion of "ether." According to Wells, ether fills space and it is the reason sound and electricity can be transmitted through space (Wright 2000, 381). This notion of ether was shared by Wood and he used ether and electricity in his book to explain the power of thought. Fryer translated several different concepts of the power of thought or the procedure of thought as *xinli*. The phrase *zhixin* 治心 used by Fryer in the title of his translation conveyed explicitly the meaning of "mind-cure" and "mind-governmentality," both concepts that were greatly welcomed by late Qing intellectuals.

We now know that it was through Fryer's translation of Wood's *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography* that late Qing intellectuals were introduced to the New Thought Movement, which attracted a large following in America from the mid-nineteenth century up until the first quarter of the twentieth century (Satter 1999, 5).[6] Wood was considered by Horatio Dresser as one of the precursors of the New Thought Movement.[7] In his *History of the New*

6 According to Satter, in the first serious study on the New Thought Movement in the United States, there were only 26 members in the Congress of New Thought Movement in 1879, while there were 86,000 members in 1906, 202,000 members in 1926, and 269,000 members in 1936.

7 Wood was a successful businessman from Boston before his retirement. He wrote *Natural Law in the Business World* in 1887 when he was fifty-three years old. Afterwards, he suffered a long period of depression, chronic neurasthenia, insomnia and dyspepsia. In order to seek mental equilibrium, he started to write extensively on the concept of New Thought. His *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography* was one of the many works that he wrote during this time. His writings were very popular among his contemporaries, and some of them were published in as many as fourteen editions. Cf. *Henry Wood (1834–1908), An Early Mentor of the New Thought Movement*, <http://henrywood.wwwhubs.com>. His writings include: *God's Image in Man*, *Studies in the New Thought World*, *The New Old Healing*, *The*

Thought Movement, Dresser wrote that Wood was the first person who sought to spread new ideas through publicity. According to Dresser, "New Thought" was a science promoting the ideas that thought is power, and that positive thinking and thought control could fundamentally correct people's mode of thinking (Dresser [1919] 2001). Mary Baker Eddy, one of the founders of the New Thought Movement, explained in a speech in 1888 that sin, sickness, and death had no absolute reality, but were mere errors, that is, false conceptions caused by our faulty senses. Her view was that true science could destroy all errors (Satter 1999, 1).

Wood's *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography* clearly demonstrated the conviction that mental evolution through self-adaptation and thought control was a possibility. The central argument in this book was that thought discipline and control were the keys to unlock "spiritual storehouses of strength" and that the human mind can be "gradually changed, by means of a stream of changed conscious thinking" (Wood [1893] 1899, 50–1). In Wood's conception, the force of thought was like electricity, and therefore thought could also be transmitted through "ether," and be tamed and utilized. He wrote:

> We find that the great force called thought has scientific relations, correlations, and transmutations; that its vibrations project themselves in waves through the ether, regardless of distance and other sensuous limitations; that they strike unisons in other minds and make them vibrant; that they relate themselves to like and are repelled by the unlike; that their silent though forceful impact makes a distinct impression; in fact that they are substantial entities, in comparison with which gold, silver, and iron are as evanescent as the morning dew. (52)

Wood further developed the notion that thought might be controlled and utilized for good purposes:

> When we learn the laws which govern any force, we tame and harness it for service. Electricity has been waiting to serve us since the days of the pre-Adamites, but until now it has waited in vain, because of the entire lack of the scientific application of law. Every conceivable force and phenomenon, when traced back, has for its original basis, *Mind in operation*; and this activity is regular, orderly, and to be relied upon. (53)

New Thought Simplified, *Ideal Suggestion Through Mental Photography*, and a pamphlet, *Has Mental Healing a Valid Scientific and Religious Basis?*

He suggested that thought could be tamed and harnessed for utility as long as we learned the laws that govern the force of thought. The control of thought, according to Wood, was measured according to the distinction between good and evil. Man was a "cosmos in miniature; an epitome of the natural universe." All creations by God were good, and the substance of man had to be good. "All impurity exists only in the perverted human consciousness" (Wood [1893] 1899, 32). What then are the impure and the perverted? Wood explicitly distinguished between two forces of human consciousness: one force was idealism (optimism and "the within"), and the other force realism (pessimism and "the without"). The optimistic was good while the pessimistic was evil. As he put it:

> Optimism is of God, and it stimulates and attracts its possessor along the upward road towards the ideal and the perfect. Pessimism creates and multiplies unwholesome conditions, and galvanizes them into apparent life. (58)

Wood then advised people to think no evil, and have eyes only for the good. We can see clearly that, following the line of argument proposed by Wood, pessimistic, dark and heterogeneous thoughts are to be avoided. Such thought taboo and censorship can easily be manipulated by the thought control practiced in any modern nation-state, for example, in the martial law era in Taiwan under the KMT government beginning from 1950, or the cultural revolution in the PRC in the 1960s.

According to Wood's formulation, the human body was a "grand composite photograph of previous thinking and mental states" (Wood [1893] 1899, 34); human thoughts, consequently, could be examined based on the external physical forms. The weak form of the human body was a mirror and the proof of the diseased human mind. Therefore, dissipated behaviors were not allowed, and disturbing or sensational information from the external world also should be avoided. "The mental photography of crime, evil, and disease presented in bold headlines by the sensational press should receive a discriminating and righteous condemnation" (58). Wood even suggested that people should constantly meditate over good thoughts by focusing their eyes on the enlarged letters of the good thoughts. He explained:

> Do not merely look upon it [the capitalized letters of the good thought], but wholly GIVE YOURSELF UP TO IT, until it fills and overflows the entire consciousness.... Close the eyes for twenty or thirty minutes more; behold it with the mind's eye, and let it permeate the whole organism. (108)

By casting the external images upon the mental field, Wood believed, the "deeper or trans-conscious mind" could gradually be altered (51).

We can see clearly that Wood's method of mental therapy not only used the rhetoric of the inverted thought-photography but also assumed the principle of mental hygiene. The mental operations of the healthy and pure thoughts were distinguished from those of the unhealthy and unclean ones. Passivity, pessimism, hesitation, doubtfulness, weakness and gloominess would all be regarded as vile forms of mind and would displease God. Negative thoughts are untouchable. Negative feelings were even worse. The sanitary rules for the thoughts must be strictly observed. Furthermore, Wood believed that the unconscious mind could be corrected through the intervention of a thought-molding process. The binary opposition between the external physical body and the internal mental state, with an assumption that a parallel correspondence existed between the two, made the bio-psyche governmentality function effectively.

> This stored-up mental reservoir is a submerged personality which thinks, reasons, loves, fears, believes, accepts, and draws conclusions beneath and independent of consciousness. It is this, and not the matter of the body, that takes disease or contagion when the conscious ego is unaware of exposure. (Wood [1893] 1899, 50)

In this course of reasoning, the unconscious is a dangerous zone, and thought must be controlled so that the body will not become ill. The body's negative or decadent behaviors must also be corrected because they indicate the degenerate state of the mind. Consequently, the mind has to be exposed, monitored, controlled, educated, and modified so that it could be improved and evolve into a better state. Here, we see that the *bio* (life) and the *psyche* were discursively formulated in such a way that the ethical subjects of the nation-state could adapt themselves to the ruling governments of later generations in the Chinese context.

William James had rightly pointed out that the New Thought Movement, as represented by Wood and Dresser, was actually a "mind-cure movement" that linked both social evolutionism and religious mysticism (James [1902] 1985, 83–84; 93–94).[8] Henry Wood's theory of mental therapy demonstrated the dis-

8 James pointed out that the doctrinal sources of mind-cure are the four Gospels, Emersonianism or New England transcendentalism, Berkeleyan idealism, spiritism, and Hinduism. He also pointed to the similarity between the mind-cure movement and the Lutheran and Wesleyan movements.

cursive mode of mental evolution that was popular in the late nineteenth century episteme in the West. The concepts of mental evolution and social control through education, self-adaptability and self-adjustment were widely shared by nineteenth-century intellectuals. Education was then viewed as the tool for the manufacture of social individuation.[9]

It is clear that the equation between physical and mental hygiene suggested by Wood placed the mental sphere under the surveillance and control of social institutions in the name of a healthy State. The entire text by Henry Wood was translated by John Fryer and introduced into the Chinese context. The working logic behind Wood's rationale is not unique nor his own invention but actually an unuttered historical *a priori,* that was shared by his contemporaries. The useful and the utilizable forces, in terms of the physical, intellectual and the ethical dimensions, turn out to be veridical and desirable only when they are countable for the State. The utility of mental power at the service of the State then turned out to be a familiar concept for the late Qing intellectuals. Not only material resources, but also human resources, such as population, production force, intellectual power, and moral forces, are considered as national wealth. Life is then governable in all its aspects. Through the reasoning of personal interest and the welfare of the society, the government can manage everything that exists for it, just as Foucault puts it: "in the form of individuals, actions, words, wealth, resources, property, rights, and so forth" (Foucault 2008, 45). Rüstow's definition of *Vitalpolitik* perfectly illustrates the practice of biopolitics in early modern China: a "policy of life" with which not only the worker's labor but also "the worker's whole vital situation, his real, concrete situation, from morning to night and from night to morning," as well as the "material and moral hygiene, the sense of property, the sense of social integration," are all counted (quoted by Foucault 157n). The entire strategy of governmentality therefore relies not on total control, but on the law of life, that is, the rules for a game

> in which each remains master regarding himself and his part, then the judicial, instead of being reduced to the simple function of applying the law, acquires a new autonomy and importance. (175)

9 In some of the writings that were often cited by Chinese intellectuals from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, such as works by Herbert Spencer, Johann Friedrich Herbart, Henry Sidgwick, Friedrich Paulsen, James Mark Baldwin, and Lester F. Ward, we notice a similar argument in favor of mental evolution and self-adaptation through education. I've previously discussed the discursive map of mental evolution that was introduced into early twentieth-century China. See Liu 2006; revised version, Liu 2011.

The autonomy of the individual is essential in the self-governmentality of the regime of ethics as well as the regime of truth (223–30).

John Fryer's translation of Henry Wood's *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography* symptomatically foregrounds the emotional demand of the age for the appropriate forms of knowledge to govern human behavior and human psyche. It stressed the internal government of moral hygiene and psyche force enabling the social hygiene and the welfare of the State to be achieved. The translation was included in a series of books on hygiene education in Chinese and was widely read as the introduction to the knowledge of modern hygiene.[10] Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1873–1950), the famous scholar of Buddhism and medical science, discussed Wood's concept of mind-cure in his book, *Weishengxue dawen* 衛生學答問 (Questions and answers concerning hygiene) (Ding 1902), and he suggested the importance of *xinli* in the therapeutic treatment of mental diseases.[11] In Wood's writing and Fryer's translation, the "psyche force" is linked directly to the tamable and controllable aspect of the mind. Pushed to the extreme, their arguments would lead to thought control and thought censorship, as we have seen in the martial law era in Taiwan and the statist nationwide mobilization in different political movements of the PRC. This mode of "psyche-governmentality" worked persuasively for the Chinese because *xinli* in classical Chinese philosophy is a powerful notion with shifting connotations, indicating the mind, the heart, the volition, the affects, the will or the spirit. It is at the site of *xin*, I would like to suggest, that the process of subjectivation, in the Chinese discourse, begins and the modern ethical subject is situated.

Wood and Fryer were obscure figures and they were merely two among hundreds and thousands of people of like mind, but they were representative and symptomatic of the dominant framework of the nineteenth-century discourse. Through them, and writers like them, Chinese intellectuals incorporated the evolutionist and utilitarian hermeneutics of what became known as *xinli* into their views of the world. Liang, for example, following Wood and Fryer's mode of discourse, viewed the force of psyche as the ground to strengthen, accumulate, combine, unite, consolidate and expand the forces of the people.

---

10 The series was compiled by *Yizhi Shuhui* 益智書會, a School and Textbook Series Committee founded by missionaries in Shanghai, and included textbooks for various disciplines, including chemistry, mathematics, physics, astronomy, biology, hygiene, and so on.

11 In chapter 7 of *Questions and Answers*, "Lun zhi-xin" 論治心 (On the cure of the heart), the first set of questions and answers posed by Ding cited Fryer's *A Method for the Avoidance of Illness by Controlling the Mind*, and elaborated on the significance of *xinli* in curing the diseases of the mind (Ding 1902, 46).

It can also be examined, monitored and altered from the outside through institutions. The theories of "New People," "New Thought," and "New Youth" were advocated, and Liang spoke of "the moral revolution" (*daode geming* 道德革命) (Liang [1902] 1999, 662). Liang's entire project for the new people was based on the molding and shaping, through cultivation and education, of the people into the ethical subject of modern China. Liang's repeated emphasis on the threat of invasion by foreign countries had already successfully depicted danger. Self-interest and self-preservation, viewed together with the interest and preservation of the nation, became the anchorage for subjective moral action. Partaking in the act of production/preservation in the name of national interest was then rationalized as a moral imperative for the new ethical subject.

Foucault pointed out that the subject constituted by the form of reflexivity specific to a certain type of care of the self, the mastery of *tekhne* over *bios*, will be the "ethical subject of truth that appears and is experienced" (Foucault 2005, 487). However, this ethical subject thus appeared and experienced was formed through the knowledge, education and the particular *tekhne* over *bios* at different moments in history. Liang and his contemporaries shared the discourse that linked the evolution of the mind with the tasks of the nation-saving project. It is against such historical and discursive background that I shall proceed to analyze Tan Sitong's conceptualization of "psyche force" as "void" and as "micro-appearing-disappearing" and discuss the radical political and critical force in Tan's thinking.

Tan Sitong and the Concept of Psyche Force as Void

Liang and Tan were contemporaries, and were both involved in the Reform movement. Tan was arrested and executed after the short-lived "Hundred Days' Reform" 百日維新 in 1898.[12] All reformer-intellectuals were deeply shocked and pained by Tan's death. The preface that Liang wrote for the new edition of Tan's Renxue (仁學 *A Book on Love*) stated that "in other countries, countless people died for the revolutionary cause. Tan is the first among us who shed blood for our revolution" (Liang [1898] 1998, 373). After that, Tan was regarded

12 Hundred Days' Reform, a failed 104–day national cultural, political and educational reform movement from June 11 to September 21, 1898, was undertaken by the young Guangxu Emperor and his reform-minded supporters led by Kang Youwei. The movement proved to be short-lived, ending in a *coup d'état* 戊戌政變 ("The Coup of 1898") by powerful conservative opponents led by Empress Dowager Cixi. Retrieved from *Wikipedia* on March 22, 2008 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hundred_Days%27_Reform>.

as a martyr by his contemporaries, and the path of blood toward revolution began.

The reason that I believe it is important to re-think and re-treat Tan Sitong's case is that it is with this highly cathected token—*xinli*, or psyche force—that Tan's thought departed drastically and radically from the mainstream of the late Qing discourse. I would like to suggest that Tan's concept of *xinli*, psyche force, offers us a glimpse of the key that could disentangle the will and desire, either of the subject or the State, to tame, utilize, control and to normalize the psyche of other people.

Tan came across Fryer's manuscript of *A Method for the Avoidance of Illness by Controlling the Mind* at about the same time as his contemporaries and was also inspired by it (Tan [1896] 1998).[13] He picked up this term *xinli* and developed his theories of psyche force in his *A Book on Love* (*Renxue*), published in 1897 (Tan [1897] 1998). *Ren* 仁 has been translated into various terms, such as humanity or benevolence. *A Book on Love* therefore is the study of humanity or benevolence. But, in his book, Tan offered several levels of definition for the concept of "ren" and linked it first and foremost to "tong" 通, passage or communication, which is the first step to true equality and sympathy. For Tan, *xinli* is the key to reaching the stage of *ren*. In his view, the psyche force is a force that triggers instant appearing and disappearing in the sphere of psyche, renewable on a daily basis, which is not to be subjugated to the power relations of the ideological nominal systems. For Tan, the ground of psyche is "nothingness" (*xin suo ben wu ye* 心所本無也). He borrowed the term "*yitai*" 以太 from Fryer's *A Method for the Avoidance of Illness by Controlling the Mind* to explain this notion of nothingness. "*Yitai*" is a phrase used by Fryer and other contemporary translators to render the concept of "ether" in modern physics. But Tan shifted the notion of "*yitai*" to a semiotic level. He said that both "*yitai*" and "*dian*" (electricity) are merely "borrowed nominal vehicles" employed to inquire into the nature of the force of psyche (以太也, 電也, 粗淺之具也, 借其名以質心力) (Tan [1897] 1998, 291).

David Wright points out that, for Tan, *yitai* and ether are not equivalent and interchangeable terms. For Tan, Wright suggests, it was not the materialistic notion of ether, but its mysterious qualities that allowed him to posit the universality of the concept of *ren* (Wright 2000, 379). Wright examines the intellectual current of the latter half of the nineteenth century, represented by Joseph John Thomson, Oliver Lodge, and William Crookes, who all evoked mysticism and religiosity in their explanation of ether. Wright suggests that

13 In a letter to his teacher, Tan said that *A Method for the Avoidance of Illness by Controlling the Mind* is "a book of wonder."

Tan saw in these contemporary scientific thoughts a connection with traditional Chinese thought, and he viewed *yitai* in a way similar to that of those spiritually-minded Western scientists of the day (374–8).

I believe Wright is correct in separating Tan's use of *yitai* from the ether in modern physics but that Wright is mistaken in seeing Tan as a religious mystic. In Tan's work, *yitai* is neither the concrete materialistic substance of ether, nor the spiritual or mystical force from beyond; rather, it is the generic motive (動機) or the love force (愛力) that fills the universe, unites elements and forms the body, joins the limbs and flesh, and is manifested in psyche, mercy, love, and nature. "*Yitai*" maintains the relations among families and friends, links the household, the state and the world, constitutes our senses, and moves the world as well as natural phenomena. The reason Tan states that the ground of psyche is nothingness is because, for him, psyche is constituted by *yitai*, its minutest unit.[14] This nothingness, or void, or *sūnyatā*, is not absolutely nothingness or emptiness itself. *Yitai* brings forth what Tan calls the "micro-appearing-disappearing" (*weishengmie* 微生滅) of material. In this groundless psyche, instant appearing and disappearing (*jishengjimie* 即生即滅) is triggered by chance and also influenced by various situations (心之生也, 必有所緣。緣與所緣, 相續不斷) (Tan [1897] 1998, 330). In this context, *yitai* is always local, imbedded in and interacting with the mutating situations. Psyche is not exterior or interior, but exists in the encounters and mutual implications between the beings and external bodies in the phenomenal world (互相容納, 非內非外) (330–1).

Since there is no fixed entity of the psyche, therefore there is no fixed identity of the "I," nor dualism between body and mind, or subject and object. Tan says:

> How do I know that I am myself? The consciousness of me is already a past one. There are infinite parts in me, and each part has infinite elements. Suppose that one of these infinite elements is me and the rest are non-mes, then I'm definitely split. Suppose that these elements are all me, then there are millions of mes, and I'm also split.
>
> 今夫我又何以知有我？比于非我而知之。然而非我既已非我矣, 又何以之有我？追乎知有我， 則固已逝之我也。……我之各部分之質點, 各有無數之分, 各分之質點, 又各有無數之分, 窮其數可由一而萬萬也。今試言某者是我, 為有一是我, 餘皆非我, 則我

14 更小之又小以致於無, 其中莫不有微生物, 浮寄於空氣之中, 曰為以太 (Tan [1897] 1998, 295).

當分裂。謂皆是我, 則有萬萬我, 而我又當分裂。(Tan [1897] 1998, 314–5)[15]

Following this line of thought, Tan decided that "I" is in the appearing and also in the disappearing. To insist on the knowledge of "I," then, is merely a fixation, and the "I" has already gone. It was on the basis of this concept of *yitai* as instant-appearing-disappearing that Tan proposed the idea that the world and the "I" are mutually implicated and contained. The "I" is a temporary configuration of *yitai*, undergoing the process of constant transmutation in every instant because the external phenomenal world is disappearing and appearing all the time. According to him, "The world is in me, and I am in the world" (一切入一, 一入一切) (Tan [1897] 1998, 313).

Tan therefore suggested the concept of the "mutual containment of One and Multiple" (*yiduoxiangrong* 一多相容) (Tan [1897] 1998, 316). In this sense, "one" is not the concept of totalizing and homogenizing One, nor the one that is counted and measured in proportion to the whole. Instead, both One and Multiple are concepts of multiplicity and infinity, and together they form a topological space through endless interactive and dialectic movements.

Tan said that different modes of physical forces, such as constant force, opposite force, incorporating force, resisting force, totalizing force, twisting force, and bending force, should be conceived in the domain of *ren*. For him, *ren* 仁 is "*tong*" 通, that is, immediate sympathy and communication between one and the other. If there is no sympathy and communication, these forces would be fixated, and violence would then ensue. With more knowledge, the conflicts created by these forces could be even more severe. *Ren*, or the state of mutual sympathy and communication, is made possible by the lively movements of *yitai*. "If thoughts are not propelled by illusions, then the force of psyche can truly demonstrate itself. It is also the moment of *ren*" (腦氣所由不妄動, 而心力所由顯。仁矣夫！) (Tan [1897] 1998, 365). To Tan, only when there is no differentiation of the subject and the object, no dualism, no opposition, can there be true equality (人我通, 無人相, 無我相……仁一而已, 凡對待之詞, 皆當破之……無對待, 然後平等) (291).

He also said, "Opposition is derived from the dichotomy between subject and object. The illusive subject-object opposition is caused by the fixed position of the 'I'" (對待生於彼此, 彼此生於有我) (Tan [1897] 1998, 316). If there is immediate mutual communication, or sympathy and empathy, then there is no ideological boundary of any kind; the force of psyche is the mediation for the immediate communication. Without the capacity for

15 All Chinese to English translations in this essay are mine.

sympathy and communication, one would always be in an alien space; with sympathy and communication, however, one could communicate with foreign spaces. (不仁則一身如異 域, 是仁必異域如一身) (296).

The crucial issue here is the problem of force, or rather, the fixation of psyche force. For Tan, it is not "force" that causes exclusion and violence, but the fixation of forces established at the subjective position through the accumulation of power and through the custom established in the nominal system; the construction of the nominal system is nothing but the fixation and accumulation of powers (名忽彼而忽此, 視權勢之所積; 名時重而時輕, 視習俗之所尚) (Tan [1897] 1998, 299).

Tan said, from the Buddhist perspective, that psyche force is instant appearing and disappearing. Movement and rest are in the same moment. If one sees only the stillness of the process, it is because he is trapped by obstinate illusions (*wankong* 頑空). One needs the force of psyche to remove oneself from the fixed structure or from the "I," to break loose the dichotomy established by the nominal system, and to remain constantly open to mutations, so that the renewal of being and the communication with the phenomenal world can be possible (日新烏乎本? 曰: 以太之動機而已矣) (Tan [1897] 1998, 319).

To me, the power of Tan's thought lies in his trenchant critique of the nominal system of Confucianism. In contrast to the Confucian mode of ethical order, Tan's notion of the constant movement of *yitai* as psyche force is conceived as a mobile state of being through the pure negativity of appearing and disappearing in an open dialectic way. The most striking concept brought up by Tan, therefore, is his critique of the nominal system in the human world. He says: "The construction [of the naming system] is so gigantic that it conceals everything and people see only darkness in daytime" (丰其蔀, 日中見斗) (Tan [1897] 1998, 300).

The gigantic nominal construction is concealing and deceptive, but it can set up the law and determine the order of things and human relations. Tan's famous phrase "*chongjue wangluo*" 衝決網羅 (Tan [1897] 1998, 290), breaking loose of all confining (nominal) nets, is then a radical confrontation with the nominal system (*ming jiao*名教). Tan was fully aware of the fact that borders were created by the nominal system and that such borders exist between families, genders, classes, groups, parties, nations and religions. For Tan, the normative laws of the Confucian religion (*kong jiao* 孔教) regulating the hierarchical relations in society could only form differentiating territories: "The differences and the territories are all conceived through illusive fixation. It is all self-centered, with no understanding of others" (妄分彼此, 妄見畛域, 但求利己, 不恤其他) (296).

Tan saw clearly that the ideological and differentiating barriers and frictions caused by the conceptual frameworks were almost irremediable: “It is sad that the distinctions and gaps created by people’s illusive thoughts are as wide as deep furrows and cannot be bridged anymore” (Tan [1897] 1998, 298). Such nominal apparatus, in Tan’s analysis, built up a whole system of distinctions, allocated the oppositions between the good and the bad, and designed the laws of punishment in a self-serving cause. He says: “All penal systems are based on this law, the core of it is a self-serving cause” (一切刑律制度皆以此為率, 取便己故也) (349).

Tan Sitong pointed out that evil was named only by those people who shared the “common nominal system” (*gongming* 共名) against the outsiders. He asked:

> What is evil? It is only a name to designate the ones who do not follow the rules set up by those who occupy the site of the good. It is the wrong done by the ones who appropriate the naming system. There is actually no evil outside of the realm of the good. (惡者, 即其不循善之條理而名之。用善者之過也，而豈善外別有所謂惡哉？) (Tan [1897] 1998, 301)

Tan noted sharply that the concealing power of this nominal construct could blind people’s reason and judgment. People who follow the nominal system do not question the Law at all. They faithfully follow the Law, execute the Law, exclude the outsiders, expel and even murder the law-breakers. Nobody would ever suspect anything wrong about the foundation of such consensus, and would only agree that “those who transgressed the nominal system should be set right by the Law in this way” (得罪名教, 法宜至此) (Tan [1897] 1998, 296).

The critical and political power in Tan’s thought, his idea of *yitai* as the constant force of micro-appearing-disappearing, his theories of the psyche as a groundless void, of the mutual-containment between one and multiple, and his criticism of the Confucian ideological construction of the world of the Good, offers us not only an understanding of the generic existence of the void and the theory of ontological multiplicity. It also offers an understanding of the critique of the discursive operation of the nominal system that determines what is good based on the principle of the same and the idea that what is bad and outside the good is to be expelled and punished.

I find that Tan’s radical approach to the seat of psyche as void and his critique of the nominal system of the good can be best illuminated through some

of the writings on political philosophy developed by the contemporary French philosopher Alain Badiou, especially his concept of the political force of the thought-to-come. In the following section, I shall tackle the concept of the pure multiple and the infinite local dialectic developed by Badiou so that we can better understand the radical political force in Tan's thinking.

Badiou's Void and Set Theory: A Political Force of Thought-to-Come

Tan's *yitai* as instant-appearing-and-disappearing and his concept of mutual containment of the one and the multiple (一多相容), touch on the question of "the ontological law of being-multiple" addressed by Badiou (Badiou 2004a, 151). For Badiou, the void is a concept of "being-here" and of "existence" that is not defined by concepts such as consciousness, experience, or human beings. This concept of existence, through pure negativity, is for him the question of the void, or the question of the empty set (Badiou 2007, 64). Badiou declares:

> It's obvious that the phenomenon, as the non-subsisting of essence, is nothing but "the being and the vanishing," the appearing and the disappearing. But it nonetheless supports the permanence of the essence of which it is existence, as its internal other. . . . Not simply essence, but the essence that has become the law of the phenomenon, and thereby the positivity of appearing-disappearing. (Badiou 2004b, 229)

This phenomenon's ontological constant appearing and disappearing constitutes Badiou's concept of pure multiple, the multiple-without-oneness:

> The multiple 'without-one'—every multiple being in its turn nothing other than a multiple of multiples—is the law of being. . . . In fact, every situation, inasmuch as it is, is a multiple composed of an infinity of elements, each one of which is itself a multiple. (Badiou 2001, 25)

In Badiou's formulation of the pure multiple, the dialectic is not between the one and the other, the subject and the object, but between the localized subject and the infinite thought movement, a process of infinite appearing and disappearing.

> Thus the central dialectic at work in the universal is that of the local, as subject, and the global, as infinite procedure. This dialectic is constitutive of thought as such. (Badiou 2004a, 143)

The body, gathered under the trace of the vanished event, sets out point by point, and organically, the thought-subject of a yet unknown eternal truth (Badiou 2009, 479).

The infinite local dialectic maintains an open process of appearing and disappearing and thus makes the infinite immanence possible. It is from this angle that we see the meaning of Tan's nothingness as pure negativity and the open dialectic, his view of the mutual implication of being and the phenomenal world, and his axiom of the renewability of being at every moment, or the renewability of being at every point, as Badiou would put it.

Tan's proposed breaking up the nominal barriers, therefore, is not the act of destroying the entire state, but, again, in Badiou's vocabulary, the rise of the "yet unknown eternal truth" that is to come, that is departed and subtracted from the fixed subject position within the system of the One. For Badiou, truth is not the powerful One, but the half-said truth, the singular truth, the truth of powerlessness. Badiou used the concept of "forcing" to speak of a "power of the true, a power required in order to found the concept of its eventual powerlessness" (Badiou 2004d, 127). He writes:

> To love truth is to love the generic as such and this is why, as in all love, we have here something that goes astray, something that evades the order of language, something that is maintained in the errancy of an excess through the power of the forcings it permits. (Ibid.)

This forcing of powerlessness is a force to maintain the generic mutability, a retreat from the conceptual binding One, and the subtraction from the definite nominal borders. Forcing of the powerlessness, or the force of unbinding, is essential for the torsion of thought or *clinamen* to emerge and the coming of the event. The process of forcing and subtracting constitutes an open and uncompletable process for the happening of singular act or singular thought (Badiou 2004a, 151). But, the temptation the subject faces is to exert this forcing to name the unnamable completely and to secure the terrain of power. This forcing the naming of the unnamable, to Badiou, is where evil starts.

> It is in this very desire, which every truth puts on the agenda, that I perceive the figure of evil as such. To force a naming of the unnameable is to deny singularity as such; it is the moment in which, in the name of a truth's infinitely generic character, the resistance of what is absolutely singular in singularity, of the share of the proper which is subtracted from naming, appears as an obstacle to the deployment of a truth seeking to ensure its dominion over the situation. (Badiou 2004c, 115)

Tan's critique of the ideological nominal system as the construction that conceals the world (丰其蔀) and differentiates the wrong from the right, the bad from the good, points to the "ideological framework of ethics" discussed by Badiou (Badiou 2001, 16). For Tan, the division of the good and the bad is conceivable only in the naming system. Those who share the common naming system (共名) share the same position justified as the good and the just. They would justify the rule of the Law without any suspicion: "those who transgressed the nominal system should be set right by the Law in this way" (得罪名教, 法宜至此) (Tan 1897] 1998, 296).

Badiou in his book on ethics sharply pointed out that evil belongs to the category of the subject, and the unnamable is unnamable for the subject language. "Every attempt 'politically' to name a community induces a disastrous Evil.... Evil in this case is to want, at all costs and under condition of a truth, to force the naming of the unnamable" (Badiou 2001, 86). Earlier, he writes:

> If the ethical "consensus" is founded on the recognition of Evil, it follows that every effort to unite people around a positive idea of the Good, let alone to identify Man with projects of this kind, becomes in fact the real source of evil itself. (13)

The community and the collective are the unnamable of political truth: every attempt "politically" to name a community would lead to a disastrous Evil. (86)

Badiou related the concept of "subtraction" to Saint Paul's discourse, the discourse of mystic and subjective weakness. He pointed out that the most radical statement Paul made was that "God is not the god of Being, is not Being" (Badiou [1997] 2003, 47). For Paul, Badiou suggested, the Christ-event only testifies something that is to come, that is to happen to us, and one does not know it until one experiences it.

> For Paul, [Christ is not a mediating figure], just as for those who think a revolution is a self-sufficient sequence of political truth, Christ is a coming [*une venue*]; he is what interrupts the previous regime of discourses. Christ is, in himself and for himself, what happens to us. (48)

To declare such truth, Badiou said, required a force of subtraction. Paul subtracted himself both from the previous regimes of the prophetic and miraculous Jewish discourse and from the philosophical wisdom of the Greek discourse (Badiou [1997] 2003, 50). This discourse of subjective weakness and of subtraction, with silent and mystical intimacy, requires "militant force" (53). This declaration of truth depends on a subjective weakness that has to be maintained "day after day."

> Whether or not this truth, so precarious, continues to deploy itself depends solely on his subjective weakness. Thus, one may justifiably say that he bears it only in an earthen vessel, day after day enduring the imperative—delicacy and subtle thought—to ensure that nothing shatters it. (54)

The imperative to ensure that nothing shatters the weakness of the subjective position and its "delicacy and subtle thought" is the imperative to maintain the forcing of the half-said truth. It is exactly what Tan would say about the force of *ren*, i.e., the force of *tung,* the force of passage and immediate communication. It is not the force fixated or fortified on any subjective position of the naming system, but the constant force to break up the subject-object opposition, the micro-appearing-disappearing of thought, and to maintain the position of immediate mutual communication between one and the other. For Tan, in order to maintain the living state of being, the constant flow of mutation, and to prevent one from being concealed by the huge construction of the nominal system on the basis of a fixed subject position, it is necessary to exercise this constant force of *yitai*, of "micro-appearing-disappearing."

Lacan's Void: Not *Nothing*, but Void as Being

Back to our central issue of the psyche viewed as "void." We still need to move a step further and ask the question: Why could this concept of psyche as void serve as the radical political force of being, or of the existence of the new political being to come? What is the fundamental link between Tan's Buddhist concept of psyche as void and Badiou's philosophical concept of the void? I would like to suggest that through examining Lacan's interpretation of being as void we could obtain a better assessment of both Tan's and Badiou's concepts of the void.

Badiou's philosophy of the void is fundamentally akin to Lacan, especially to Lacan's concept of the topology and the set theory. Badiou once said that he is always faithfully a Lacanian.[16] By that he meant that Lacan's study of matheme, of topological knot and of set theory, are close to his axiom that mathematics is philosophy. He has devoted many sections of his books to Lacan, partly as elaborations and partly as critique, such as *Theory of Subject*; *Being and Event*; *Conditions*; and *Logics of Worlds: Being and Event II.* In a recent

16 "We are steadfastly Lacanian with regard to the theme of the subsumption of bodies and languages by the exception of truths—even though Lacan himself would limit their impact, stopping at the threshold of their eternal power" (Badiou 2009, 479).

article, “The Formulas of *l’Étourdit”* (Badiou 2006), Badiou clearly explained that Lacan is anti-philosophical because philosophy in general, in defining what the One is, often breaks up the truth-knowledge-Real triplet into pairs, while for Lacan the triplet is inseparable. “I believe this is the most important and novel thesis in *l’Étourdit,* the triplet knowledge-truth-Real cannot be segmented” (89). Badiou pointed out that what Lacan wants to show is the statement that “there is Oneness” (*il y a de l’Un*). For Lacan, “the Real is not known, it is demonstrated” (90). How does the Real pass through, from impotence, to its demonstration? Between the pure being as unbound multiplicity and the formalization of being, there is an impasse. This impasse and the demonstration of the Real is our question.

To Badiou, the formalization of being is related to “the localization of the void,” or the concept of subject (Badiou [1988] 2005, 432). Badiou writes, “the ‘there is’ of the subject is the coming-to-being of the event, via the ideal occurrence of a truth, in its finite modalities” (434). Lacan still keeps the idea that there are always some subjects. But Badiou would insist that, if we want to think of the subject not merely as “structural recurrence” identifiable within the uniform networks of experience, but as a rare subject that “suspends its occurrence from the event, from the intervention, and from the generic paths of fidelity, both returning the void to, and reinsuring it within, a function of suture to being,” we need mathematics (432). It is here that Badiou and Lacan agree.

To Lacan, the moment of the formalization of being, or the moment of articulation, is “orientated in the fundamental topology of language” (Lacan [1964] 1998, 244). That is to say, the “subjective position of being” takes place at the moment of articulation (247). In *Encore*, Lacan explained this subjective position of being as a topological locus that connects heterogeneous spaces:

> A formulation is given to us by the topology I qualified as the most recent that takes as its point of departure a logic constructed on the investigation of numbers and that leads to the institution of a locus, which is not that of a homogeneous space. Let us take the same limited, closed, supposedly instituted space—the equivalent of what I earlier posited as an intersection extending to the infinity. If we assume it to be covered with open sets, in other words, sets that exclude their own limits—the limit is that which is defined as greater than one point and less than another, but in no case equal either to the point of departure or the point of arrival … It can be shown that it is equivalent to say that *the set of these open spaces always allows of a subcovering of open spaces, constituting a*

> *finity, namely, that the series of elements constitutes a finite series*. (Lacan [1972–73] 1999, 9–10, italics mine)

Here, I think Lacan has touched upon the most important question within ontology, that is, the being of appearing and disappearing is a finite set that opens to infinite subsets, and being that leads to beings to come. Each moment of articulation, or formalization of being, appears as a topological point that is traversed by heterogeneous spaces.[17] Lacan used the concept of Democritian void to speak of the "being." He insisted that if we need to use the term "being," it is "a being of signifierness" (71).

> In fact, the atom is simply an element of flying signifierness, quite simply a στοιχείο [*stoicheio* cell]. Except that it is extremely difficult to make it work out right when one retains only what makes the element an element, namely, the fact that it is unique, whereas one should introduce the other a little bit, namely, difference (71)

Στοιχείο can be understood as a cell, an element, a letter, or a part of speech. Lacan here was using the Democritian model of microcosm to explain his concept of "being of signifierness": the ontological constituent of being is the signifiers, or what he calls the "flying signifiers." It is clear that for Lacan, the void is "not zero," "not *nothing.*" Instead, the void is the microcosm of being itself, filled with flying atoms of sense perception (Lacan [1964] 1998, 64).[18] Badiou also pointed out that, for Lacan, the subject's presence is constituted "by the signifier more than by the body," the body that has already been affected by the structure. But, Badiou clarified, in Lacan's context, it is a body that thinks, "the body-thought" (Badiou 2009, 478). Badiou himself was concerned with how the body, "gathered under the trace of the vanished event, sets out point by point, and organically, the thought-subject of a yet unknown eternal truth" (479). In this aspect, Badiou said that he and Lacan are not too far apart. The flying atoms of signifiers discussed by Lacan are to be understood as the sense perceptions of sight, smell and everything that follows. By introducing the

17 The notion of set theory is so central to Lacan's concept of topology that Jacques-Alain Miller has concluded that Lacan's concept of topology links his theories from the early stage down to his works of mathemes, and this topology may be integrally reduced to a set. See Miller 2004, 35.

18 "Nothing, perhaps?—not perhaps nothing, but not nothing" (Lacan [1964] 1998, 64).

concept of being as being of signifierness, with flying signifiers, Lacan has defined being as body-thought, an ever mutating microcosm of flying signifiers.

Lacan once used the metaphor of the extra-flat surface of the lamella to elaborate the concept of being as the void.[19] The lamella, Lacan said, is a surface that takes no space: "lamella is something extra-flat, which moves like the amoeba ... [and] survives any division, any scissiparous intervention" (Lacan [1964] 1998, 197). The metaphor of the lamella or amoeba is apparently derived from Freud's notion of the amoeba-shaped "ego" or "I" (*Iche*). Freud said that it is hard to say anything of the behavior of the libido in the id or that in the super-ego. All that we know about is what is related to the "I." It is in the "I" that the entire available quota of libido is stored up.

> It lasts until the *Iche* [I] begins to cathect the ideas of objects with libido, to transform narcissistic libido into object-libido. Throughout the whole of life the *Iche* [I] remains the great reservoir, from which libidinal cathexes are sent out to objects and into which they are also once more withdrawn, just as an amoeba behaves with its pseudopodia. (Freud [1915] 1989)[20]

In these few lines, we see that the "I" for Freud is a mutating form of cathexes, constantly reaching out to and withdrawing from the ideas of the objects. Ontologically, the "I" understood here is the transmuting reservoir of the cathexes. Libido is the constant force of cathecting with and severing from the objects in the external world.

Lacan also explained that the libido was the "pure life instinct," the "immortal life, or irrepressible life, life that has need of no organ, simplified, indestructible life" (Lacan [1964] 1998, 198). Lacan stressed that libido could not be viewed as "a field of forces," because he took *Trieb*, following Freud, as "a constant force" (*konstante Kraft*). It was not the "life force" or "kinetic energy" to be "regulated with movement" (164–5). To Lacan, the libido was an "unreal

19 Regarding this concept of the lamella-shaped space, Slovoj Žižek has suggested that it is this negative logic of the lamella, the logic of a "not-all," that forces being to appear in one of the either-or situations, through the process of the *vel*. The "either-or" situation is a moment of the cut that separates but also bridges the ambivalent values in a topological mode. Žižek further suggested that the lamella functions both as the "flayed, skinned body" of the Lacanian real and as the "political factor" in Milan Kundera's writing. See Žižek 1995, 215.

20 Freud used the same metaphor of amoeba in various articles: "On Narcissism," "The Ego and the Id," "An Outline of Psycho-Analysis," Lecture XXVI of the "Introductory Lectures," and Lecture XXXII of the "New Introductory Lectures." See Freud 2001.

organ" that is the intersection of articulation (205). The libido is "incarnated" through the cathexes, "a series of *object a*" (206). The libido, or the constant force of cathecting and withdrawing, is situated at the surface of articulation, the intersection that cuts and links the two spaces. Lacan writes:

> I have placed the libido at the point at which the lobe defined as field of the development of the unconscious covers and conceals the other lobe, that of sexual reality. The libido, then, would be that which belongs to both—the point of intersection, as one says in logic. But this is precisely what it does not mean. For this sector at which the field appears to overlap is, if you see the true profile of the surface, a void. (156)

The lamella-shaped libido was then described as a flat surface, a "void," a "compact space," the point where heterogeneous and multidimensional spaces intersect:

> This surface belongs to another whose topology I have described to my pupils at various times, and which is called the cross-cap, in other words, the mitre.... This surface is a Meobius surface, and its outside continues its inside. (156)

Here, we see that Lacan had already developed his idea of the Moebius surface as a topological point of appearing and disappearing, that is, the space of the pure being of multiplicities. Through this surface of intersection, or the space through which the *objet a* is cathected, the pure being as unbound multiplicity finds the temporary formalization of being.

In associating the pure being of multiplicities to the Democritian concept of void, Lacan also introduced the concept of *clinamen,* or the torsion of thought. Lacan explained that when Democritus introduced thought into being, his theory of *clinamen* also indicated "the adversary of a pure function of negativity." The *clinamen*, or pure negativity of thought, brings in an "other" or "difference in being" (Lacan [1964] 1998, 63). The libido then is not only the constant force of cathexis and binding, but also the constant force of the withdrawal of cathexes and of unbinding. It is the force that introduces the *clinamen* that deviates or subtracts from the given frame and leaves a space for the advent of a "new being." According to Lacan:

> Except that that doesn't happen without meiosis, a thorough obvious subtraction, at least for one of the two, just before the very moment at which the conjunction occurs, a subtraction of certain elements that are not superfluous in the final operation. (Lacan [1972–73] 1999, 66)

This meiosis or subtraction, on the level of thought, is the subtraction and unbinding from the One, from the phallic position in the given system, and from the whole saying. It is this unbinding, or subtraction, that makes the renewal and repetition of representation possible, not the repetition of the structural recurrence, but the repetition of the appearing of new being. The act of unbinding and subtraction requires force, as Tan and Badiou would say, so that the fixed subject position could be untied.

This constant play of appearance and disappearance, binding and unbinding, explains how the being as thought, in Lacan's sense, is the being of *ex-sistence* and of *jouissance*:

> Doesn't this *jouissance* one experiences and yet knows nothing about put us on the path of *ex-sistence*? And why not interpret one face of the Other, the God face, as based on feminine *jouissance*? (Lacan [1972–73] 1999*,* 77)

This feminine *jouissance*, or the *jouissance* of *savoir*, Lacan insists, can only be experienced and retained through "half-telling" (*mi-dire*), and not to be claimed to be whole:

> To retain a congruous truth—not the truth that claims to be whole, but that of the half-telling (mi-dire), the truth that is borne out by guarding against going as far as avowal. (93)

The reason Lacan suggested that the avowal is deceiving and concealing was because existence cannot be claimed as a whole truth. Badiou has pointed out that the Real, for Lacan, can be defined as "ab-sence." Badiou said,

> He is asserting that an opening onto the Real cannot be breached save through the presupposition that it is an absence in sense, an ab-sense, or a subtracting of something from, or out of, sense. (Badiou 2006, 83)

What Lacan and Badiou were addressing was that the nominal system has its own limit. The invisible and the unthinkable cannot be accessed within the nominal system that excludes them. The invisible and the unthinkable, or the absence, could only be experienced through the demonstration of the Real, with an ab-sence. To question the given system of knowledge, to test the limits, to subtract something from sense, out of sense, is the first step to try to challenge the claimed whole truth. Tan and Badiou shared their task in this

regard. This questioning, however, is not to attempt another whole truth, but to exercise the force in the process of thought, and to enjoy the *jouissance* of thought, the *jouissance* of *savoir.* This truth as half-said constantly requires a logic of subtraction, a play between *eros* and *thanatos* that are not two distinct forces, but one constant force, a force of binding-unbinding, appearing-disappearing, on the path of ex-sistence. The path of ex-sistence is therefore the process of thought to come, and the path both Tan and Badiou try to elaborate in their work.

Conclusion: Force of Psyche—Force of Unbinding and Ex-sistence

We are faced here, through the long discussion in this chapter, with the question of the political implication behind the difference between the two modes of hermeneutic of the late Qing China, i.e., the psyche force as electricity as opposed to the psyche force as void.

The former hermeneutic assumes psyche force as utilizable and tamable forces, and assumes, too, that through the process of cultivation, regulation and governmentality the mind and spirit of the people would be bettered, leading to an improvement in the welfare of the people as a whole. This concept of mental evolution, the progress of the mind, is homologous to the concept of "psycho-physical parallelism" as we have observed it in the writings of Wood, Fryer, Liang and their contemporaries. The individuals are counted as countable parts of the whole. The One, either the God or the State, that defines the parts of the whole is the dominant logos that determines the order of the law and also differentiates the good and the just from the bad and the evil. The subject is thus subjected to the given regime of discourse and of the sensible, even of existence. Happiness is measured according to the common denominator of the majority of the people. The society is therefore governed by the laws of the happiness for the greatest number and also by the principles of self-adaptation while the *telos* behind such calculation is often unknown to the individuals.

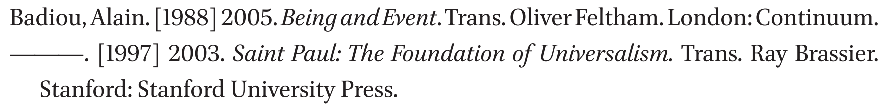
The other hermeneutics of psyche force as we have seen it in Tan's writings, on the contrary, suggests that psyche space is a void, a dynamic topological continuum, of infinite movement of local dialectic. The concept of psyche force as pure dialectic and negativity allows us to view each body as a singular being, renewable on a daily basis, through the force of instant appearing and disappearing of thoughts. This "constant force" is the key that leads us back to Freud's criticism of the "psycho-physical parallelism" that was popular in the nineteenth century. For Freud, the conventional parallelism between

the psychological and the physical, or between psychical and the conscious, would disrupt "psychical continuity" (Freud [1940] 1989, 168). This constant movement of the psyche force keeps the psyche space as an open system, alterable according to the encounters of the external bodies in the phenomenal world. Each one is a multiple and opens to yet another multiple, and the encounter opens up a sequence of the set's opening up to multiple subsets. The possibility of the emergence of new subsets within each set, through the appearing of new thoughts, suggests an understanding of radical equality between singular beings in terms of the multiplicity of their ontological ex-sistence and the constant force of unbinding.

It is through Lacan's concept of the void as the microcosm of thought, of appearing and disappearing signifiers, as a set that opens to subsets and the process of thought to come, that we see the affinity between Tan and Badiou. Lacan's topological formulation of ex-sistence, and Badiou's conceptualization of the truth of powerlessness and of subtraction, have helped us to explain how Tan's *yitai*, and his psyche force as micro-appearing-disappearing, could work to unsettle the consolidation of the utilitarian psyche-electricity discourse of his time, and to challenge the nominal system of the ideological construction of Confucianism. Furthermore, through this anarchic and dynamic topological perception of being, or the ontology, we see the possibility for the force of infinite questioning, the immanent singularity of the thought-to-come. In Tan's thinking, we see not only a radical political view of the equality of beings, but also a radical view of the ethics that is freed from any fixed nominal ideology of ethics.

Tan once suggested that the ideal universality would be the state where no dichotomy between subject and object are posed, no hierarchy erected, and no empire, no national boundary and no religion. There would be ultimate equality among mankind. The social unit envisioned by Tan was an anarchical form of flexible local communities, a form of multitude, based on an ancient Chinese vision of jing-tian (井田) in which the social affairs are managed together by the people of the neighborhood. Tan's vision was one of radical equality, not subject to the ideological hierarchy of any political order. Late Qing intellectuals soon gave up this anarchical vision of Tan's. The revolutionary epoch of his time demanded a more unified and substantiated nation-state. Tan's path was not pursued. Instead, the road of nation building, as well as the statist governmentality at different stages of the Republic, ensued after his martyrdom. It is the biggest irony that we've observed on the eve of modern China.

Works Cited



Badiou, Alain. [1988] 2005. *Being and Event*. Trans. Oliver Feltham. London: Continuum.

———. [1997] 2003. *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism.* Trans. Ray Brassier. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. 2001. *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*. Trans. Peter Hallward. London: Verso.

———. 2004a. "Eight Theses on the Universal." In Ray Brassier and Alberto Toscano, eds. and trans., *Theoretical Writings*, 143–52. London: Continuum.

———. 2004b. "Hegel and the Whole." In *Theoretical Writings*, 221–32.

———. 2004c. "On Subtraction." In *Theoretical Writings*, 103–17.

———. 2004d. "Truth: Forcing and the Unnameable." In *Theoretical Writings*, 119–33.

———. 2006. "The Formulas of l'Étourdit." Trans. Scott Savaiano. *Lacanian Ink* 27: 80–95.

———. 2007. "Towards a New Concept of Existence." Trans. Bruno Besana. *Lacanian Ink* 29: 63–72.

———. 2009. *Logics of Worlds: Being and Event II*. Trans. Alberto Toscano. London: Continuum.

Ding, Fubao 丁福保. 1902. "Lun zhi xin" 論治心 (On the cure of the heart). In *Weishengxue wenda* 衛生學問答 (Questions and answers concerning hygiene), 46–51. Shanghai: Guangye shushe.

Dresser, Horatio W. [1919] 2001. *A History of the New Thought Movement*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Electronic Edition, Cornerstone Publishing, <http://website .lineone.net/~newthought/ahotntinx.htm>.

Foucault, Michel. 2005. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981–1982*. Trans. Graham Burchell. New York: Picador.

———. 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978–1979.* Trans. Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Freud, Sigmund. [1915] 1989. "Unconscious." Trans. James Strachey. In *Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 14: 161–215. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

———. [1940] 1989. *Outline of Psycho-Analysis*. Trans. James Strachey. In *Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 23.

———. 2001. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Ed. James Strachey. London: Vintage.

Fryer, John (Fu Lanya 傅蘭雅), trans. 1896. *Zhixin mianbingfa* 治心免病法 (A method for the avoidance of illness by controlling the mind). Shanghai: Gezhi shushi. Originally by Henry Wood, under the title *Ideal Suggestions through Mental Photography* (1893).

Hanan, Patrick. 2004. "The New Novel before the New Novel—John Fryer's Fiction Contest." In his *Chinese Fiction of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, 125–34. New York: Columbia University Press.

James, William. [1902] 1985. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Reprint. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press.

Lacan, Jacques. [1964] 1998. *Seminar Book XI: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York & London: Norton & Company.

———. [1972–73] 1999. *Seminar XX: Encore: On Feminine Sexuality the Limit of Love and Knowledge*. Trans. Bruce Fink. New York & London: Norton & Company.

Liang, Qichao 梁啟超. [1898] 1998. "Renxue xu" 仁學序 (Preface to *Renxue*). In *Complete Works of Tan Sitong*, 372–4. Bejing: Zhonghua Shuju.

———. [1902] 1999. *Xinmin shuo* 新民說 (On new people). In *Liang Qichao quanji* 梁啟超全集 (Complete works of Liang Qichao), vol. 1, 655–735. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe.

Liu, Joyce C.H. 劉紀蕙. 2006. " 'Xin de zhili' yu shenglihua lunli zhuti: yi *dongfangzazhi* du yaquan zhi lunshu weili" 「心的治理」與生理化倫理主體：以《東方雜誌》杜亞泉之論述為例 ("Governing the Psyche" and the biologized ethical subject: the case of Du Yaquan and Dongfang Magazine, 1911–1923). *Chungguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy) 29 (Sept.): 85–121; revised version, see Liu, Joyce C.H. 2011, 133–155.

———. 2011. *Xin zhi tuopu: 1895 shijianhou de lunli chonggou* 心之拓撲: 1895 事件後的倫理重構 (The topology of psyche: the post-1895 reconstruction of ethics). Taipei: Xingren wenhua shiyanshi.

Miller, Jacques-Alain. 2004. "Mathemes: Topology in the teaching of Lacan." In Ellie Ragland and Dragan Milovanovic, eds., *Lacan: Topologically Speaking*, 28–48. New York: Other Press.

Satter, Beryl. 1999. *Each Mind a Kingdom: American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement, 1875–1920*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Tan, Sitong 譚嗣同. [1896] 1998. " 'Shang Ouyang Zhonggu shu' zhi shi" 〈上歐陽中鵠書〉之十 (Letter to Ouyang Zhonggu, no. 10). In *Tan Sitong quanji* 譚嗣同全集 (Complete works of Tan Sitong), 461. Bejing: Zhonghua shuju.

———. [1897] 1998. *Renxue* 仁學 (A book on love). In *Complete Works of Tan Sitong*, 289–372.

Terrill, Ross. 2006. *Mao Zedong zhuan* 毛澤東傳 (Mao: a biography). Trans. Weixiong Hu and Yuchen Zheng.). Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe.

Wang,Yangzong 王揚宗. 2000. *Fulanya yu jindai zhongguo de kexue qimeng* 傅蘭雅與近代中國的科學啟蒙 (John Fryer and modern Chinese scientific enlightenment). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

Wells, David Ames. [1872] 2005. *Wells's Principles and Applications of Chemistry; for the Use of Academies, High schools, and Colleges: Introducing the Latest Results of Scientific Discovery and Research, and Arranged with Special Reference to the Practical Application of Chemistry to the Arts and Employments of Common Life*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Library. Digital texts by Making of America Books. <http://www.hti.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moa;idno=AJN7487>

Wood, Henry. [1893] 1899. *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography*. 9th ed. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

Wright, David. 2000. *Translating Science: The Transmission of Western Chemistry into Late Imperial China, 1840–1900*. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill.

Žižek, Slovoj. 1995. "The Lamella of David Lynch." In Richard Feldstein, Bruce Fink, and Maire Jaanus, eds., *Reading Seminar XI: Lacan's Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, 205–20. New York: State University of New York Press.

CHAPTER 6

Translating Liberalism into China in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of Yan Fu

Max K.W. Huang

Yan Fu and the Origins of Chinese Liberalism

Which model should the Chinese adopt to build a new order? This was the question that echoed down the corridors of the twentieth century and is still debated today: "Where should China go?" (*Zhongguo xiang hechu qu* 中國向何處去). The translations of Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921), as well as his original writings, presented a blueprint for China's future. In particular, his translations of J.S. Mill's *On Liberty* (*Qunji quanjie lun* 群己權界論 (The boundary between self and group)) in 1903 and Edward Jenks's *A History of Politics* (*Shehui tongquan* 社會通詮 (A general interpretation of society)) in 1903–4, although less influential than his translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (*Tianyanlun* 天演論 (The theory of natural evolution)), offered a wealth of new views about social and political issues. His blueprint can be regarded as the origin of modern Chinese liberalism.

Mill's *On Liberty* was originally published in 1859. In 1871, Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832–1891), a translator, educator, and leading member of the People's Rights Movement in the Meiji period, translated it into Japanese. His translation was entitled "The Principle of Liberty" (*Jiyū no ri* 自由の理).[1] Influenced by Nakamura's Japanese translation as well as a French translation entitled *La liberté*, Ma Junwu 馬君武 (1881–1940), a Chinese student in Japan, started translating it into Chinese in 1902 and published the first Chinese translation of Mill's book in 1903 at the Kaiming 開明 Press in

1 This book is included in *Meiji bunka zenshū* 明治文化全集 (Complete works of Meiji culture) (Meiji bunka 1927). *Ziyou* had been widely used in classical Chinese to indicate lack of restraint. For instance, Yan Fu quoted a poem written by Liu Zongyuan saying "I want to pick a Ping flower, but I am not *ziyou*." See Yan [1903] 1975, iii. In Japan, the term *jiyū* (derived from the ancient Chinese *ziyou*) to denote "freedom" or "liberty" was used as early as 1862 in *A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Japanese Language* (Ei-Wa taiyaku shūchin jisho 英和対訳袖珍辞書) compiled by Hori Tatsunosuke 堀達之助 (1823–1894) (Hori 1862). The Chinese then adopted this modern usage. See Saitō 2005 and Yanabu 1982, 173–92.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_008

Shanghai. This translation was also entitled "The Principle of Liberty" (Ziyou yuanli 自由原理) (Ma 1991, 28–80). Liang Qichao read the manuscript and wrote a preface for the book. He said: "I have read more than ten of Mill's works and found that this is the most suitable one; our nation can take it as a remedy" (Huang 1981). It is not known if Yan Fu was aware of Nakamura's and Ma Junwu's translations. He seemed to agree with Liang, however, that Mill's *On Liberty* was medicine for China's troubles. In 1899 he started translating the work directly from an English edition. Yan's decision to translate it grew out of the political situation in the aftermath of the 1898 coup d'état. His aim was to correct several Chinese misunderstandings of liberty, as well as to make clear certain contrasts between China and the West which he had first perceived when he was a student in England in the 1870s.Yan took up the translation during the "dark period" between the 1898 coup d'état and the Boxer Uprising in 1898–1901. The prevailing atmosphere of repression surely stimulated this undertaking (Schwartz 1979, 131). Yet in translating Mill's book Yan was less concerned with "political freedom" than with "individual freedom in an ethical sense." In 1906, he wrote:

> The meaning of political freedom is different from that of individual freedom in an ethical sense. "The boundary between self and group" translated by me several years ago was concerned with the freedom of the individual in relation to society, not with political freedom. Political freedom is opposed to control. What the political scientists have shown is that when a group of people are controlled by a government and this government's control is excessive, liberalism arises in order to resist it. As for "The boundary between self and group", the author talks about individual opinions and behaviors controlled by other people's opinions and behaviors. This is more important [than political freedom], and, although it may occasionally also be related to government, it will not be so in a direct way ... (Yan 1986, 5: 1282)[2]

Yan's focus, then, was not on political tyranny. To be sure, given the political tyranny of the day, he may have just been prudent. On the other hand, believing that popular enlightenment was the key need of the time, Yan sympathized with Mill's emphasis on the tyranny of convention and public opinion.

Yan's translation of Mill was thus aimed at readers outside the political center, especially "young ones." At this time, Western concepts of liberty had already aroused much attention in China. As Liang Qichao put it in 1902,

2 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

"Nowadays, the term liberty has turned into a young people's cliché" (Liang 1978, 40). Yan was deeply worried by what he saw as dangerous misunderstandings of this absolutely central idea. The misunderstandings that he perceived as blocking the enlightenment he sought can be analyzed as those of four groups:

a. The first group was comprised of conservatives who outright rejected the Western concept of liberty. They felt threatened by this doctrine and regarded it as an evil akin to "floods and wild beasts." In their eyes, its spread would lead to social chaos.

b. The second group was made up of scholars like Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 who, although they did not reject liberty altogether, preferred to translate it as *gongdao* 公道 (justice) rather than *ziyou*. Yan described their view: "Some have translated 'liberty' as 'justice,' the idea that everyone is treated fairly" (Yan [1903] 1975, i). These people agreed with the first group that the introduction of liberty would result in social disorder, but, like Yan, they argued that this was due to Chinese misunderstandings of the true meaning of Western liberty. What, then, was its true meaning? According to this group, liberty was not identical with license to do as one pleases but with "justice" or public-mindedness. For example, Zhang Zhidong held that many people erroneously perceived *zizhu zhi quan* 自主之權 and *ziyou* 自由 (Chinese translations for "the right to be autonomous" and "liberty") as pursuing private interests in an unrestricted manner, undermining the social and moral order. Therefore, he suggested translating liberty as "justice," emphasizing its connotation of acting to pursue the public good, not private interests (Z. Zhang 1987, 25a–b). Yan found this misleading, because liberty and justice, although relevant to each other, were still different from each other. For instance, if a man is imprisoned, we may say that he has lost his "liberty" but not that he has been treated unjustly. Yan also quoted the expression "to set the dog at liberty": one could not speak of "setting a dog at justice."

c. The third group consisted of radicals who thought of liberty precisely as the conservatives feared they would: license to act as one pleases.

d. The fourth group was as enthusiastic about the idea of liberty as the radicals were but had only a vague understanding of it, standing somewhere between the conservatives and the radicals. They viewed liberty as freedom in a broad sense, a condition opposite to that of a "slave" (*nuli* 奴隸). Yan Fu thought that they mistakenly regarded as liberty "all of those things which bring about people's happiness, even those entirely unrelated to liberty." In their view, absence of hunger, independence, patriotism, local self-rule, etc., were all subsumed under the term "liberty" (Yan 1986, 5: 1280–1).

To overcome such vagueness, to quiet conservative fears, and to persuade the young to avoid the spirit of license, Yan argued that the correct understanding of liberty emphasized the boundaries between self and group:

> There are many theories about liberty, and Mill's book does not cover all of them. Yet those who want to study Western theories of liberty have to understand "The boundary between self and group," the limits [on the freedom of both of them]. Only then can any theory of liberty be useful. (Yan [1903] 1975, i)

In seizing on this concept of boundaries, however, Yan was interested in not only dispelling domestic misunderstandings but also clarifying the contrast between China and the West. In 1895, Yan had pointed out that there were fundamental differences between Chinese and Western society. These lay in two Western "vital principles of life" (*mingmo* 命脈): "in learning, to dismiss the false and value the true, and, in politics, to curb the private in favor of the public." Yet these ideals were shared by the Chinese. Why were only Westerners able to realize them? To Yan, the key reason was freedom:

> There is no fundamental divergence between these two and basic Chinese principles. Westerners, however, have generally been able to implement them, while our attempts at implementation have generally been flawed. What makes the difference is freedom. The idea of freedom has been deeply feared by our sages and therefore has never been adopted as a doctrine. Western people, by contrast, believe that man has some endowed rights, particularly the right of freedom. Every man is supposed to have freedom, and every nation too. They try hard to prevent these freedoms from being violated. Violation of a person's freedom is a breach of the principles of heaven and the True Way of human life. (Yan 1986, 1: 2–3)

Although Yan had a strong sense of the distinctiveness of the Western concept of freedom, he also saw it as similar to the Chinese concepts of *shu* 恕 (being compassionate by putting oneself in the other's place) and *xieju* 絜矩 (giving everyone his or her due by applying the same standards to others that one applies to oneself):

> The ideas in China which were closest to Western freedom were *shu* and *xieju*. It is all right if we say they are similar, but it is wrong to say that they are the same. Why? These Chinese virtues focus exclusively on the treatment of others, but the West's freedom, while involving the treatment of

> others, is focused in the first instance on preserving the integrity of the self (*cunwo* 存我). (Yan 1986, 1: 3)[3]

Clearly, in defining “freedom,” Yan was looking for some combination of the Confucian sense of morality and order with a certain new emphasis on the free agent of moral action. In “Yuanqiang” 原強 (On the foundation of national strength) written in 1895, Yan held that *shu* and *xieju* were prerequisites for individual liberty and self-rule, which in turn were the basis of the wealth and power of the state:

> The wealth and power of the state cannot be separated from policies benefiting the people. Yet it must be based on people who can benefit themselves, and this in turn requires people who have freedom. The prerequisite for free people is government by the governed. Those who can rule themselves properly by establishing such a government must be people who have the virtue of giving everyone his or her due by applying the same standards to others that one applies to oneself. (Yan 1986, 1: 14)

In the preface of *The Boundary between Self and Group* written in 1903, Yan said:

> If people formed a group in which everyone were free to do as he liked without restriction, it would be mired in conflict, and the world would be dominated by might. Therefore, even if one has freedom, the boundary of or limit on his freedom must [arise out of the right] others [equally have to enjoy] freedom. This is the principle of *xieju* from the *Great Learning*, with which scholar-officials are able to pacify the world. The purpose of Mill’s book is to distinguish between the extent to which one may be free and that to which one should be unfree. (Yan [1903] 1975, i–ii)

These really profound remarks thus trace out a logic linking the idea of freedom with that of limits on freedom and then with a concept of justice and implicit equality (*xieju*) as the rationale for these limits (a line of thought overlapping John Rawls’ concept of “the reasonable” or “reasonableness”) (Rawls 1996, 49). For “boundaries,” Yan used *quanjie*權界, which seems to mean both “boundaries based on state authority” and “boundaries based on individual rights.” Like *xieju, quanjie* has a distinct Confucian meaning, since it directly

3 *Xieju*, a traditional Confucian terminology, is mentioned in chapter ten of the *Great Learning*. See Zhu 1975, 10–11.

connotes Xunzi's emphasis on the "boundaries" or "limits" needed—as in Yan Fu's mind—to prevent "conflict."[4] Thus Yan saw "freedom" as entailing the two key dimensions of Confucian morality: the moral subject's sense of empathy, and the emphasis on outer rules. For Yan, this entirely Confucian synthesis was vital to think properly about the Western idea of "freedom" but also not sufficient.

Aiming for the synthesis of this complex Confucian value with a Western one, Yan knew he had an elusive task. In the "Notes for translation" which he added to "The boundary between self and group," he both pointed to the similarity between liberty and *xieju* and said it was difficult to translate "liberty" into Chinese. As he saw it, one of the reasons Chinese readers found this book so hard to understand was precisely that there was no perfect way to translate "liberty." It was the "profound content" of Mill's work that impeded the efforts of Chinese readers to grasp his translation, not Yan's failure to translate the English as well as possible, he claimed (Yan [1903] 1975, 3).

Yan's recognition of the intricacies of translation work testifies to his transition beyond the limits of traditional Chinese culture. He had entered the stage of "discovering" new values. The complexity of this mental process may well account for the fact that Yan, in discussing Chinese and Western cultures, wavered between emphasizing the differences and emphasizing the similarities.

Apart from any such wavering, however, between 1895 and 1903 there clearly was a shift of emphasis in Yan's view about Mill's concept of liberty. This transition is reflected in his changing the title of his Chinese translation from *Explaining the Idea of Liberty* (Ziyou shiyi 自繇釋義) in 1898 to *The Boundary between Self and Group* in 1903. Many scholars have argued that this change marked Yan's "retreat" from his early radical perception of liberty to a more conservative idea. Retreat or not, it seems undeniable that in 1895 he emphasized the importance of individual freedom, while in 1903 he stressed the significance of "The boundary between self and group," i.e., the limits on personal freedom. Throughout, however, both dimensions were vital for him.

4 Xunzi said: "Men are born with desires which, if not satisfied, cannot but lead men to seek to satisfy them. If in seeking to satisfy their desires men observe no limits and boundaries (*duliang fenjie* 度量分界), then it would be impossible for men not to fight with each other." Sometimes, Xunzi just used "*fen* 分" to indicate boundaries. He said: "All men live in groups. A group without boundaries will lead to conflict and conflict will lead to disorder." See "Lilun pian 禮論篇" (Discourse on ritual principles) (Xun 1981, chap. 13, 1a) and "Wangzhi pian 王制篇" (On the regulations of a king) (chap. 5, 8a). See also Knoblock 1994, 3: 55; 2: 104.

To better understand the continuities and discontinuities with the Confucian tradition in Yan's mind, we should look again at the Chinese concepts of *shu* and *xieju*, which for Yan were an integral part of "freedom." As already indicated, these words referred especially to the Confucian sense of empathy and reverence for others, the Confucian "golden rule," also illustrated by phrases like "not doing unto others what one would not have done unto oneself" (*jisuo buyu, wushi yuren* 己所不欲, 勿施於人) and "establish for others what you want to establish for yourself" (*jiyu li er liren, jiyu da er daren* 己欲立而立人, 己欲達而達人). Embracing these values as integral to freedom, Yan also emphasized "the virtue of the citizens" (*minde* 民德) and their "enlightenment" (*minzhi* 民智) as integral to freedom.

Yan's idea of freedom as a condition including morality and social order thus was close to what Isaiah Berlin later called "positive freedom" and has been typical of the modern Chinese liberal tradition (Berlin 1969, 118–72). Before Yan, He Qi 何啟 (1859–1914) and Hu Liyuan 胡禮垣 (1855–1916) had argued that liberty and rights were the same as *xieju* and "What Heaven imparts to man ... [is] human nature. To follow our nature is called the True Way" (*tianming zhi wei xing, shuaixing zhi wei dao* 天命之謂性, 率性之謂道), phrases from *the Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸 (He and Hu 1900, 52b). In 1961, Mao Zishui 毛子水 (1893–1988) wrote a preface for a new Chinese translation of Mill's *On Liberty* in which he said:[5]

> Since the creation of writing, Mill's book stands out as one of the most precious works ever written. It deals with cultivating one's life, regulating one's family, bringing order to one's state, and pacifying the world. ... In my view, the idea of liberty is based on *zhong* 忠 and *shu* 恕. Those who understand *zhong* and *shu* are able to understand liberty. In terms of my own experience, any gentleman who grasps the way of *xieju* will respect the principle of liberty and will abstain from encroachments upon the freedom of others. (Mao 1961, i)

Such a concept of positive freedom, correlating freedom with a moral concern for others, can also be found in the thought of Chinese liberals in recent

5 Mao graduated from the department of mathematics, Peking University, in 1920. He was one of the founders of the "New Tide" magazine advocating the May Fourth Movement. He then studied mathematics, physics, and history of science in Germany for seven years. Fu Sinian invited him to teach in Peking University in 1930 and in National Taiwan University in 1950. Mao was also an expert on Confucian classics. See Cheng 1988, 140.

decades.[6] For Yan, because a truly free person had to respect other people's freedom, liberty coincided with *xieju*, which connoted the golden rule of "not doing unto others what one would not have done unto oneself." What intrigued Yan was how the West had institutionalized this concept, passing into law both protection of and limitations on individual liberty. Within the protection of the law, one's individuality could be respected and one's self-realization unhampered by others. Thus the freedom of others as well as group interests could be ensured. For Yan, China differed from the West because it lacked this combination of freedom, law, and morality, as well as the emphasis on "preserving the integrity of the self." In this sense, then, *xieju* was still different from the West's idea of freedom. Yan's concept of liberty perfectly illustrates the merging in his mind of continuities and discontinuities with the Confucian moral tradition.

It was with this outlook that Yan translated Mill's *On Liberty*. He finished the translation in 1899, just around the time when the Boxer Uprising broke out, lost the manuscript in the turmoil, and recovered it in the spring of 1903, when a Westerner found it and mailed it to him. One can only imagine his happiness. He wrote:

> Alas! I lost this manuscript. But I regained it. The future of my four hundred million compatriots truly relies on it. I assume that Heaven was unable to bear the sorrow of its loss and did not want to see our people lose access to the wisdom this book offers. (Yan, [1903] 1975, v)

Before the publication of the book by the Shanghai Commercial Press in 1903, Yan wrote a long preface. Yet, because he was the superintendent of the translation bureau of Metropolitan University, and did not want to "touch the [political] taboo in a direct way," he cut his original preface by about two hundred characters (Pi 2003, 330).

In translating *On Liberty*, Yan continued to ponder the meaning of freedom. One sign of this is Yan's substitution of *ziyou* 自繇 for *ziyou* 自由 to translate "liberty." He said that in ancient times these two terms were synonymous and then explained:

> In this book, when translating "liberty" into Chinese, I used *ziyou* 自繇 rather than *ziyou* 自由, but not because I prefer an old word.... *You* (繇) used to mean "silk." It connoted something substantial rather than

6 For example, Hao Chang emphasizes that Yin Haiguang's liberalism has a strong sense of moral consciousness. See Chang 1999. Similarly, Yang Guoshu emphasizes combining a strong moral consensus with individual freedom. See Guoshu Yang 1985, 191–2.

> abstract. I coined the term *ziyou* 自繇 to make clear what is distinctive about this idea. (Yan [1903] 1975, iii)

The meaning of this passage is not obvious, but clearly Yan had come to understand that liberty was not just an abstraction but also a concrete condition. This point, he felt, had been widely ignored by the Chinese. Indeed, his "substantial" seems similar to Berlin's "positive." Yan may well have felt that *ziyou* 自由 connoted a sense of freedom without limits. Subsequently, as in his translation of *The Spirit of the Laws*, he continued to use *ziyou* 自繇 rather than *ziyou* 自由 for "liberty" (Yan [1909] 1935, 1–47).

Besides pondering the meaning of liberty, Yan combined Millsian liberalism with gradualist concepts derived from evolutionary theory, thus forming an outlook which can be described as a "middle path" in that it differed equally from conservative and radical revolutionary views.

This middle path can be found in his essay "Zhu ke pingyi" 主客平議 (An impartial view about the dialogue between a host and a guest) written in 1902:

> For a country to progress, both conservative and radical forces are needed, and neither conservatives nor radicals should be totally dismissed. Without radical ideas, progress is impossible; without conservative ideas, stability cannot be maintained. Making progress while maintaining stability is the key for a country to develop in an orderly manner.... The conservatives hold that we cannot preserve ourselves without following ancient patterns. The radicals say that we can not keep up with other nations without adopting new ways. Although their views differ, they all are patriotic. Neither the conservatives nor the radicals ought to force their views on each other. This is the true spirit of liberty. (Yan 1986, 1: 119)

To him, conservatives perceived neither the shortcomings of traditional culture nor the strength of Western theories and also failed to understand progress as the inevitable law of social evolution. As for the radicals, they overlooked the merits of traditional culture and the shortcomings of Western theories, while failing to understand evolution as a gradual process. Yan's "middle path" was similar to that of Liang Qichao, Du Yaquan, and others.

As time went by, the conservatives began to lose ground. Even the dynasty started to grasp the need for constitutional reform. Yan then became increasingly concerned with the radicals, especially with their racial nationalism. In 1903–4, he translated Edward Jenks's *A History of Politics*. Jenks offered a unilinear scheme of human development, proceeding from savage, "totemistic" society through "patriarchal" society to the (military) state or "political society."

These three social forms, according to Jenks, used different ways of organizing the people. Savage society was based on totemism, while patriarchal society was based on race. As to the political society, its major criteria were territory and sovereignty, while race played an insignificant role. Applying this unilinear scheme to Chinese society, Yan concluded:

> Chinese society combines the patriarchal system and the military state. Its laws are still based on race, not on the state. This is evident in the racial distinction between Manchu and Han, even though the Manchu dynasty was founded some 300 years ago. (Yan [1904] 1935, 108)
>
> China retained the structure of patriarchal society while gradually establishing the military state. On the whole, patriarchal society accounts for seventy percent and the military state for thirty percent. (15)

Yan translated this book with the major purpose of showing that the anti-Manchu racism fostered by Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883–1944), Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1869–1935), and other revolutionaries was an outdated way to save China and would only throw her back into the stage of the "patriarchal society." He realized that racial nationalism (*minzu zhuyi* 民族主義) was characteristic of any race, but he asked: "Will racial nationalism strengthen our race? In my opinion, it definitely will not." In Yan's view, China required above all else a strong military state in which all citizens owed loyalty to the state alone, not to a specific race. Yan's vision of the modern state emphasized liberalism, capitalism, and the quality of citizenry and played down the element of race.[7] Thus occurred a debate between the revolutionaries and Yan (Yu 2001). Wang Jingwei wrote,

> If we accept Yan Fu's theory, nationalism becomes unimportant and we will not be able to get rid of the Manchus.... Alas! He just wants us to maintain the position of the conquered forever (J. Wang 1905, 6)

Zhang Binglin also disagreed with Yan in an essay entitled "Shehui tongquan shangdui" 社會通詮商兌 (A discussion of A general interpretation of society). For Zhang, anti-Manchuism was part and parcel of genuine nationalism, not a throwback to any sort of "tribalism" (B. Zhang 1907). The differences between Yan and the revolutionaries, such as Wang and Zhang, represent the

---

7 It has to be noted that Yan Fu still fostered ideas of the yellow race and racial war. His attitude toward racism resembled "big nationalism" rather than "small nationalism" or Han-centered racism, to use Liang Qichao's distinction (Dikötter 1992, 67–8).

gap between "civic nationalism" and "racial nationalism."[8] Already by 1903 or 1904, therefore, Yan was diverging from the path of the revolutionaries and moving closer to reformists like Kang Youwei 康有為 and Liang Qichao. In 1905, Yan went to London to deal with a legal case concerning the Kaiping 開平 Mining Company.[9] He met Sun Yat-sen there and they had the following exchange:

> [Yan Fu said to Sun]: The Chinese people lack the quality [needed to realize modern citizenship]. They are unqualified, and their intellectual level is low. In spite of our efforts to carry out all sorts of reforms, [what results is still that] when we solve a problem in one place, it soon surfaces in another. Our urgent task today is education, which will gradually solve our problems. Sun Yat-sen answered: "If we are to wait until the waters of the Yellow River turn clear, how many years will that take? Would we be able to see it happen during our lifetime? We two are not alike. You are an original thinker, but I am a man of action." (X. Wang 1977, 74–5)

Apart from this disagreement about gradualism, the reformists and the revolutionaries also tended to diverge in their conceptualizations of nation/state. This point has been well made by Pamela Crossley in her remarks about Liang Qichao and Zhang Binglin:

> Liang adhered to the earlier idea of transformation through civilization, entering into dialogue with the cosmologists and philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Because he affirmed the role of the state in this civilizing process, he envisioned the new state as expansive, inclusive, but culturally authoritarian, erasing minority cultures in the interest of a generalized, standard form of Civilization. Chang [Zhang], in contrast, emphasized the permanence of identity, its relation to ancestors, and the historical failure of Civilization to eradicate Chaos through the actions of an expansionist state. Thus, echoing many elements of the ideology of the Ch'ien-lung [Qianlong] period, Chang [Zhang] rejected the transformationalist project, and envisaged a future of small, discrete, culturally distinct states in which no group had the authority to transform another. (Crossley 1998, 120)

8 Similar distinctions have been used by many scholars. John Hutchinson distinguishes between "political nationalism" and "cultural nationalism." See Hutchinson 1987. Frank Dikötter holds that "racial nationalism" is a variant of cultural nationalism (Dikötter 1996).

9 Yan went to Europe with Zhang Yi 張翼, administrator of the Kaiping Mining Company between January and March 1905. See Yan 1986, 1: 530; X. Wang 1977, 179–84.

Criticizing the revolutionaries, Yan also attacked the theory of revolution in terms of its basis in the thought of Rousseau. Rousseau was introduced into China in the mid-1890s and the Chinese translation of Rousseau's *Social Contract* was first published in 1898. He became widely accepted in China as the leading authority on the nature of revolution, and indeed, throughout the twentieth century, while his thought was highly controversial in the West, it was seldom criticized in China. Yan was an exception. From around 1903 on, he criticized a number of Rousseau's ideas. He argued that Rousseau's ideal of a "social contract" emphasizing equality, participation, self-rule, and "sovereignty of the people," though praiseworthy as an ideal, may result in various problems if put into action. For the same reason, he opposed violent revolution. Yan's criticism of Roussseau reflected his leaning toward Millsian liberalism. Throughout his life, he would adhere to this Millsian, gradualist, and reformist stance (Bastid-Bruguière 1990).

Yan's Liberalism Based on Positive Freedom and Inner Values

Yan's liberal outlook after 1895, which changed little, except for a shift to a more conservative view after 1902–3, centered on three main themes:

a. Yan broadly affirmed the need for basic reforms inspired by the Western experience. He was deeply impressed by Western theories about the goals, the forms, and the procedures of economic and political life, including modern science and the empirical epistemology associated with it (Guorong Yang 1995). Rejecting contemporaneous Chinese conservatism, he adopted a radically critical perspective on much of the traditional heritage, including the canonical authority of the Confucian classics. He was moved by a diffuse feeling that a dynamic response to the current crisis was needed (to use Schwartz's term, he believed China should emulate the Faustian West). He thus rejected Chinese conservatism.

b. Yet he still endorsed much of the Chinese intellectual and cultural tradition. Except for the contemporary conservatism just mentioned, Yan agreed with much of the traditional scholarship and accepted many of the traditional ways of thinking. These ideas were closely related to his conceptualization of freedom. In this regard he not only failed fully to understand Mill but also rejected some of Mill's key ideas as incompatible with his own convictions.

c. Yan rejected transformative approaches to change. More precisely, any transformation in his eyes could be carried out only incrementally and slowly. Influenced by both Mill and traditional accommodative ideas, he rejected the

radical, transformative, utopian, revolutionary implications of the increasingly dominant Chinese way of conceptualizing democracy and the Rousseauistic ideas connected to this Chinese trend.

In other words, one can say that Yan's political thought was a struggle against the following elements of his intellectual world: the conservatism of many Chinese, which resisted any basic reforms; the rising Chinese tendency to combine Rousseauism with a transformative, radical, utopian, revolutionary concept of political action; and certain key Millsian ideas centering on the maximization of negative freedom. Resisting these three patterns, Yan was hoping to steer China onto an accommodative path of reform that would combine Millsian forms of political-economic organization with "positive freedom" defined by Berlin. Thus Yan's goal was, on the one hand, to avoid the polar extremes of contemporaneous Chinese political thought—conservatism and radicalism—and, on the other hand, to adopt the Millsian idea of economic and political liberty while leaving out its full emphasis on negative freedom. To describe the main thrust of his thinking in still another way, Yan certainly aimed for the "wealth and power" of his nation and was convinced that gradualism was the only way to reach that goal, but nothing was more important for him than building a Chinese society based on that complex of values which he identified with the ideal of "freedom."

How much continuity was there between this ideal and the Chinese tradition? Yan is usually classed as a "liberal," and the liberal concept of freedom is usually described as imported from the West. My analysis shows, however, that Yan fashioned a vision of "positive freedom" heavily indebted to the Chinese tradition.

That is, when Yan used the Chinese transliteration, *ziyou* 自繇, for the English "freedom" or "liberty," was he denoting part of a dynamic Western, Faustian ethos he wanted to import or a complex goal largely continuous with some of the most basic ideals of the tradition he had grown up with? Even if there is no definite, either-or answer to this question, it is clear that in the very heart of borrowing from another culture, he was invoking indigenous ideals. This can best be seen by connecting his concept of freedom to his concept of "inner" values.

Thus, in his approach to culture revision, Yan sought to avoid the polar extremes of his day. Instead of seeking maximum continuity with the tradition (conservatism) or maximum discontinuity (radicalism), Yan hoped to formulate a third paradigm of cultural revision, that of rejecting much of the tradition in order to retrieve its valuable aspects and then combining the latter with leading Western ideas. That limited cluster of traditional values which Yan wanted to retrieve centered on "inner" ethical, and spiritual values. Conversely,

the Western ones he selected did not include Christianity and instead centered on the "outer" aspects of life: the scientific understanding of physical phenomena, and the institutional forms and procedures of political and economic life. In other words, in designing his "middle path" between conservatism and radicalism, Yan not only adopted a new paradigm critically sorting out the contents of global intellectual history but also concluded that Chinese wisdom centered on the "inner," Western learning, on the "outer."

This view of his was not especially original, and much Chinese thought has followed it to this day. Moreover, if one grants that, for Yan, the "inner" was the *ti* 體 (ultimate foundation of a society), then there even is a resemblance between his view and Zhang Zhidong's famous formula "Chinese learning to realize the ultimate foundation of Chinese civilization, Western learning to realize the instrumental aspects of society." Indeed, Zhang himself in one striking passage anticipated the main thrust of much modern Chinese philosophy:

> Chinese learning is learning concerned with the inner, Western learning, with the outer. Chinese learning is about the cultivation of one's person and mind, Western learning, about how to deal with the affairs of the world.[10]

For Yan, however, the tradition-rooted "basis" of modern Chinese life was narrower than what Zhang had in mind. It was not a broad moral-institutional matrix preserving much of the inherited society but a cluster of beliefs forming the soul of the citizen as he or she interfaced with a large variety of new institutions based on the Western experience. Yan's conceptualization of freedom was inseparable from his emphasis on this "inner" side of the citizen.

To be sure, Yan did not simplistically equate the "inner" with Chinese values, the "outer," with Western. For instance, the "inner" world for Yan still included the Western emphasis on "preserving the integrity of the self," although for Yan possibly Zhuang Zhou 莊周 and Yang Zhu 楊朱 also understood "preserving the integrity of the self." Conversely, the "outer" for Yan also included Chinese familism and the Confucian value of *gong* 公 (totally fair and public-spirited).

10 This formula was put forward by Zhang Zhidong in his *Quanxue pian* (Z. Zhang 1970). Similarly, Zheng Guanying used *ben*本 (root, basis) and *mo*末 (derivative, secondary aspect), and Wang Tao used *dao* 末 (the True Way or moral-metaphysical reality) and *qi* 器. (concrete instrumentalities) respectively to denote the superior aspects of Chinese and Western civilization. They all clearly identified China with wisdom about the "inner," West, with the "outer."

Nevertheless, as we shall see, Yan's "inner" ethical and spiritual values mostly came from the Chinese tradition. Conversely, Yan believed that virtually the whole "outer" world of political-economic institutions should accord with Western models. For example, he subsumed the physical cosmos under science and so rejected a major part of the traditional worldview, the idea of *tian di ren* 天地人 (heaven, earth, and Man), a moral-physical-historical cosmos based on the forces of *yinyang* 陰陽 (the negative and positive cosmological force) and susceptible to control by the "perfect man" or "sage," especially if he were the "king."[11] This paradigm of cultural revision emphasizing a synthesis of the Chinese "inner" with the Western "outer" thus differed equally from conservative views that broadened the role of Chinese values and institutions in the process of reform, and from the iconoclastic view that in effect held up the West as a model for the "inner" life as well as the "outer." The continuing debate that Yan helped to initiate was focused on the question of whether "inner" values too could be derived from the West. The subsumption of the "outer" under Western ideas was for the most part never again questioned.

Thus, seeing major continuities with the tradition in Yan's conceptualization of ethical and spiritual values, and noting the important role of these traditional values in Yan's political thought, I agree with Chang Hao's conclusion that Chinese modernizers a century ago were not just concerned with the "outer" instrumental process of economic and political modernization. The "inner" remained a fundamental category in modern Chinese political thought. But what was the main content of the "inner"? For Chang Hao, it was especially concern with perennial existential questions (Chang 1987). Yan's case, however, illustrates the basic concern with integrating the "outer" processes of modernization with "inner" values. Most important, as just mentioned, for Yan and for others of his day, the very idea of freedom was both integral to this "outer" process of modernization and inseparable from ethical and spiritual values drawn from the "inner" aspects of the Chinese tradition. The latter, then, remained important for not only dealing with the spiritual, metaphysical, religious, and existential problems of meaning, but also for pursuing wealth, power, and freedom. Such was the significance of Yan's and Liang's insistence that this

11 The idea of *tian di ren* goes back at least to the *Book of Changes*. It has to be noted that Yan still used the term *tian di ren*, but he emphasized that the Chinese should adopt logic, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology and sociology to study "heaven, earth and Man." See Yan 1986, 1: 7. More precisely, as science replaced the yin-yang cosmology, this cosmology was sometimes rephrased as a metaphysical theory compatible with modern science. Such was Tang Junyi's approach, which indeed he himself traced back to Yan. See Tang 1974, 2: 799.

pursuit depended on cultivating a "virtuous, wise citizenry" influenced by a proper educational system that had been formed by an enlightened elite grasping the right way to think about human life. From this standpoint too it is clear that there was nothing "Janus-faced" about Yan's use of Western ideas for "outer" problems and Chinese ones for "inner" problems. For him, a coherent conceptualization of freedom and of political life necessarily combined both sets of considerations.

To sum up, Yan's critical train of thought sought to combine a largely Chinese vision of inner life and social harmony with a largely Western vision of economic and political liberty, and he aimed for the gradualist implementation of this ideal synthesis. Depending on Chinese as well as Western ideas, he sought in a not entirely conscious way to achieve a combination of Millsian liberty with positive freedom. This required him to resist not only the polar extremes of contemporaneous Chinese political thought but also Western ideas either supporting Chinese radicalism or out of accord with his Confucian vision of a harmonious social order. His divergence from Millsianism, then, was based on not only misunderstanding but also his own judgments as an active, indeed creative political thinker.

Concluding Remarks

Introducing Millsian liberalism into China in the early twentieth century, Yan was looking for a reformist middle path between the conservatism and the radicalism of his day. Yet because the choices for his nation were not only between different political-economic options but also different ways of mixing native and foreign values, he also formulated a middle path between maximum retention and maximum rejection of the inherited culture. The paradigm of cultural revision which he helped to create has remained influential in China to this day. It replaced the bulk of China's inherited economic-political institutions with a set devised in the West, while combining this set of "outer" institutions with "inner" values largely continuous with the Chinese tradition. During his last years, Yan concluded that the West's civilization, not only China's, was flawed. His oeuvre as a whole, however, is filled with an optimistic if not utopian faith that a synthesis (*huitong* 會通) of the partly different ideals of China and the West would enable the Chinese to create a wealthy, powerful, free, and morally harmonious society.

This synthesis turned on education. The education of the citizens, including the introduction of the key Western ideas put into the language of classical China, was to instill in them a seamless synthesis of Western learning

with the "inner" qualities rooted in the Chinese tradition. An enlightened elite grasping a correct theory of national development and cultural revision was to define this education as well as the whole structure of society. This theory in turn revolved around Yan's complex concept of "positive freedom." Inner values would enable citizens to synthesize the free pursuit of their own interests, their moral obligations to society, and their spiritual self-realization. Freedom would be realized as citizens pursued their own individual interests in a democratic society after their education had instilled in them not only patriotism and China's ethical-spiritual tradition but also that awareness of the individual's autonomy and worth highlighted by the West.

There is no doubt that Yan profoundly grasped much about how Western individualism differed from the Confucian belief in the dignity and autonomy of the self, and that he admired this different Western value as vital not only for capitalistic and democratic interaction in his country but also for a kind of inner liberation not unrelated to what later was called *geti jiefang* 個體解放 (the liberation of the individual). In Yan's eyes, if every person internalized this synthesis of Confucian altruism and Western self-assertion, there could be no conflict between self and state, between liberty and order. Again, he here expressed a completely Confucian, utopian faith that, through a shared moral understanding, diverging interests would harmoniously converge.

Works Cited

Bastid-Bruguière, Marianne. 1990. "Influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau on Chinese Political Thought before the 1911 Revolution." In Zhang Zhilian, ed., *China and the French Revolution: Proceedings of the International Conference, Shanghai, 18–21 March 1989,* 29–36. New York: Pergamon.

Berlin, Isaiah. 1969. "Two Concepts of Liberty." In *Four Essays on Liberty,* 118–72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chang, Hao 張灝. 1987. *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis: Search for Order and Meaning, 1890–1911.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1999. "Yin Haiguang yu Zhongguo zhishi fenzi" 殷海光與中國知識份子 (Yin Haiguang and Chinese intellectuals). *Dangdai* 當代 (Contemporary monthly) no. 147:114–7.

Cheng, Yufeng 程玉鳳. 1988. "Mao Zishui" 毛子水 (Mao Zishui). *Zhuanji wenxue* 傳記文學(Biographical literature) 53, no. 5: 140–1.

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. 1998. "Chaos and Civilization: Imperial Sources of Post-Imperial Models of the Polity." *Si yu yan* 思與言 (Thought and words) (Taipei) 36, no. 1: 119–90.

Dikötter, Frank. 1992. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. 1996. "Culture, 'Race' and Nation: The Formation of Identity in the Twentieth Century China." *Journal of International Affairs* 49, no. 2: 590–606.

He, Qi 何啟 and Hu, Liyuan 胡禮垣. 1900. "Quanxue pian shu hou" 勸學篇書後 (Notes after reading Zhang Zhidong's An exhortation to study). In *Xinzheng zhenquan* 新政真詮 (The true interpretation of new policies), 52b. Shanghai: Gezhi xin baoguan.

Hori, Tatsunosuke 堀達之助. 1862. *Ei-Wa taiyaku shūchin jisho* 英和対訳袖珍辞書 (A pocket dictionary of the English and Japanese languages). Edo: n.p.

Huang, Jiamo 黄嘉謨. 1981. "Ma Junwu de zaoqi sixiang yu yanlun" 馬君武的早期思想與言論 (Ma Junwu's early thought and theses). *Zhong yang yan jiu yuan jin dai shi yan jiu suo ji kan.* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 10: 303–49.

Hutchinson, John. 1987. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: the Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Knoblock, John. 1994. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. 3 vols. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Liang, Qichao 梁啟超. 1978. *Xinminshuo* 新民說 (About new people). Taipei: Commercial Press.

Ma, Junwu 馬君武. 1991. *Ma Junwu ji* 馬君武集 (Collected works of Ma Junwu). Ed. Mo Shixiang 莫世祥. Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe.

Mao, Zishui 毛子水. 1961. "Lun ziyou ji lun daiyi zhengzhi xu" 論自由及論代議政治序 (Preface to On liberty and representative government). Trans. Guo Zhisong 郭志嵩. Taipei: Xiezhi gongye congshu.

Meiji bunka kenkyūkai 明治文化研究會 (The study group of Meiji culture), ed. 1927. *Meiji bunka zenshū* 明治文化全集 (Complete works of Meiji culture). 24 vols. Tokyo: Nihon hyōron shinsha.

Pi, Houfeng 皮后鋒. 2003. *Yan Fu dazhuan* 嚴復大傳. (A detailed biography of Yan Fu). Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe.

Rawls, John. 1996. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Saitō, Tsuyoshi 齋藤毅. 2005. *Meiji no kotoba, bunmei kaika to nihongo* 明治のことば, 文明開化と日本語 (Meiji words: civilization and Japanese language). 1997. Reprint. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Schwartz, Benjamin I. 1979. *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West.* 1964. Reprint. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Tang, Junyi 唐君毅. 1974. *Zhexue gailun* 哲學概論 (An introduction to philosophy). 2 vols. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju.

Wang, Jingwei 汪精衛. 1905. "Minzu de guomin" 民族的國民 (The citizens of a nation). *Minbao* 民報 (People's news) no. 1: 1–31.

Wang, Xi 王璽. 1977. *Zhong Ying Kaiping kuangquan jiaoshe* 中英開平礦權交涉 (The negotiations on the Kaiping mining case between China and Britain). Taipei: Institute of Modern Chinese History, Academia Sinica.

Xun, Kuang 荀況. 1981. *Xunzi* 荀子 (The works of Xunzi) 四部備要版 (Sibu beiyao edition). Taipei: Zhonghua shuju.

Yan, Fu 嚴復. 1986. *Yan Fu Ji* 嚴復集 (Collected works of Yan Fu). 5 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

———, trans. [1903] 1975. *Qunji quanjie lun* 群已權界論 (The boundary between self and group). Taipei: The Commercial Press. Originally by J.S. Mills as On Liberty (1859).

———, trans. [1904] 1935. *Shehui tongquan* 社會通詮 (A general interpretation of society). Shanghai: Commercial Press. Originally by Edward Jenks as *A History of Politics* (1900).

———, trans. [1909] 1935. *Fayi* 法意 (The spirit of the laws). Shanghai: Commercial Press. Originally by Montesquieu as *De l'esprit des lois* ([On] the spirit of the laws) (1748).

Yanabu, Akira 柳父章. 1982. *Honyakugo seiritsu jijō* 翻訳語成立事情 (Consideration on the formation of equivalents). Tokyo: Iwamai shoten.

Yang, Guorong 楊國榮. 1995. *Shizheng zhuyi yu Zhongguo jindai zhexue* 實證主義與中國近代哲學 (Positivism and modern Chinese philosophy). Taipei: Wunan tushu gongsi.

Yang, Guoshu 楊國樞. 1985. *Kaifangde duoyuan shehui* 開放的多元社會 (The open, pluralistic society). Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi.

Yu, Zheng 俞政. 2001. "Ping Yan yi Shehui tongquan yinqi de yichang fengbo" 評嚴譯社會通詮引起的一場風波 (On a disturbance caused by Yan Fu's translation, A general theory of society). *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 (History monthly Journal of historical science) 6: 83–7.

Zhang, Binglin 章炳麟. 1907. "Shehui tongquan shangdui" 社會通詮商兌 (A discussion of A general interpretation of society). *People's News* no. 12: 1–24.

Zhang, Zhidong 張之洞. 1970. *Quanxue pian* 勸學篇 (An exhortation to study). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe.

———. 1987. "Zhengquan" 正權 (The true meaning of rights). In *Quanxue pian* 勸學篇 (An exhortation to study), part 1. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1975. *Sishu jizhu* 四書集注 (Collected commentary on the Four books). Taipei: Guangdong chubanshe.

CHAPTER 7

Chinese Romanticism: The Acculturation of a Western Notion

Isabelle Rabut
Translated by Ian MacCabe

This chapter does not attempt here to make a comparative study between Chinese and Western romanticisms. The movements of thought and sensibility grouped under this name are so varied and sometimes so contradictory, the definitions so numerous, that attempts at reconciliation are liable to result in some misunderstandings. There is no question of synthesising, in a few pages, a notion which, taken in the greater part of its acceptation, has put on so many different faces according to the times and the cultures. This chapter shall therefore limit itself essentially to what the Chinese critical discourse has retained, the aspects to which it has given preference, by questioning the needs and the motives which have guided these choices consciously or unconsciously.

A story of the term *langmanzhuyi* 浪漫主義 (romanticism), parallel to the one we have for the word "romantic," is wanting. As far as one can judge, in the absence of precise etymological studies, it appears to have been preceded by the term *luomanzhuyi* 羅曼主義, phonetically copied from the original Western word and its Japanese equivalent *"rōman"* (written with the character "*lang*," wave, which is pronounced *"rō"* in Japanese).[1] Lu Xun evokes the current *"luoman"* opposed to the classical current in a 1907 text, "Wenhua pianzhi lun" 文化偏至論 (On extremities in culture) (Lu [1907b] 1981, 54). He uses the *"luomanpai"* 羅曼派 transcription in his translation of Kuriyagawa Hakuson's 廚川白村 Zōge no tō wo dete 象牙の塔を出て (Out of the ivory tower) (Kuriyagawa [1924] 2000).[2] It is also by the words *luomanzhuyi* and *xin luomanzhuyi* 新羅曼主義 (neo-romanticism) that Tian Han 田漢 describes in 1920 the romantic and neo-romantic tendencies (Tian 1920a).

However, the Chinese reading of the term *langmanzhuyi*, through which the concept eventually became Chinese, coexisted very early on with the Nippo-

1 The phonetic transcription "ro-man-chi-shi-su-mu" (ロマンチッスム) was also used in Japan. See Tian 1920a, 23.

2 And *luomanzhuyi* in 1929, in the preface of his translation of an essay by the Japanese critic Katagami Noburu (see Lu 1981, 10: 291).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_009

Western reading: Mao Dun 矛盾, from 1920, speaks of *"langmanzhuyi"* and of *"xin langmanzhuyi"* (Shen [1920] 1997, 86). The English romanticism of the poets Byron, Shelley and Keats is presented in the quarterly *Chuangzao* 創造 (Creation), under the name of "*Yingguo langmanpai*" 英國浪漫派 (British romanticism) (T. Xu 1923).

It is also under the name of "*langman de qushi*" 浪漫的趨勢 (Romantic tendencies) that Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋, in his famous 1926 essay (S. Liang [1926] 1998), lashes out against the romantic tendencies of modern Chinese literature. At that date, the word seems to be definitely implanted in the Chinese vocabulary.

Until the beginning of the 1920s, the double transcription "*luomanzhuyi/ langmanzhuyi*" is challenged by other terms based on the contents of the notion. The first one, *chuanqizhuyi* 傳奇主義, refers to the original meaning of the word "romance," "written in Romanic language," "narration of chivalry." It is as much used by Zhou Zuoren in his essay "Xin wenxue de yaoqiu" 新文學的要求 (The demands of the new literature) (Zhou [1920] 1992, 137) as by Mao Dun in his *Wenyi xiao cidian* 文藝小詞典(Little dictionary of literature and the arts) (Mao [1925] 2001).[3] The second one, *lixiangpai* 理想派 or *lixiangzhuyi* 理想主義 (idealism), is the result of an interpretation of romanticism as an idealistic current, to which we shall return: it is, for example, the term "*lixiangpai*" that is given to the "romantic school" in the brief account of the work of the Dane Georg Brandes (1842–1927), *Main Currents in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century*, published in the book review section of *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 (New youth) ("Shubao jieshao" 1917).[4] According to Chen Duxiu, "classicism" was succeeded by "idealism," then "realism," and finally "naturalism" (Chen [1916] 1987, 628). Furthermore, in 1920, Qu Qiubai spoke of "*xin lixiangzhuyi*" (neo-idealism) to indicate, so it appears, what was currently called at that time "neo-romanticism" (Qu [1920] 1997).

The fact that the notion had, at first, been employed in an academic context, to describe the stages of Western literary history, renders its application to the Chinese production at that time, aleatory: the authors or the critics do not always worry about situating the writings of their contemporaries in relation to these theoretical reconstitutions repeated at no end, in quasi identical

---

3 In a 1918 essay (Zhou [1918] 1992, 187), Zhou uses the term "chuanqipai" as an equivalent of the English word "romanticism." In Mao Dun's dictionary, text dated 1925, unpublished and reproduced after the author's manuscript (Mao [1925] 2001) are found the entries "*Chuanqizhuyi* (Romanticism)," "*Diyi chuanqizhuyi*" (First romanticism)" (indicating the Renaissance) and "*Xin chuanqizhuyi*" (Neo-romanticism).

4 "Shubao jieshao" 1917 (no author's name).

terms. Therefore certain articles at the beginning of the 1920s describe works which seem to us to pertain to "romanticism" without pronouncing the word.[5] We know more of the scholastic definitions of romanticism which circulated in the manuals and the theoretical articles than of the intimate comprehension which the writers had. From the usage that the Chinese literary discourse made of the word all through the twentieth century, emerges, however, a small number of salient traits, endowed with a relative constancy, which are sufficient to define a purely Chinese perception of this concept and to give it a particular physiognomy. It remains to be seen if the critical consensus around the notion of "romanticism" corresponds to the reality of the works produced: that is what this chapter shall endeavour to examine in the second part of this study.

Idealism and Romanticism in the Chinese Critical Discourse

In the beginning of the 1980s, Yan Jiayan wrote: "romanticism is also called idealism" (Yan [1982] 2000, 234–6). In fact, the notion of "idealism" preceded that of romanticism before being more or less mingled with it.

The opposition *lixiang/xieshi* 寫實 (two words borrowed from Japanese to translate two Western concepts) was developed at the beginning of the twentieth century by Liang Qichao 梁啓超, then by Wang Guowei 王國維: it concerns two ways of creating, one not being better than the other, and which can even complement each other. The first is characterised by the search for new worlds, different from the unsatisfactory ordinary reality; the second by the description of the different situations of life, of thoughts and of sentiments.[6] For Wang Guowei "the invention" (*zaojing* 造境) and the "description" (*xiejing* 寫境) of a universe are finally only the two sides of the act of creating which should tend to get closer to nature (by an objective description) and at the same time to the ideal.[7] This complementarity of the objective truth and of the ideal, will profoundly mark Chinese criticism and inflect its representation of realism, just like that of romanticism.

It is also worth noting that it is not a question of opposing the world of subjectivity (sentiment) to that of things, as sentiments are an integral part of objec-

5 For example, Mao Dun, in an evaluation of three months' literary production in 1921, evokes the "individualistic" and "hedonist" tendency of present day literature, freed of the shackles of tradition (Mao [1921] 1997, 191–5).

6 Cf. Xia 2006, 191.

7 Cf. Wen 1993, 24. Wen cites a 1908 work by Wang Guowei, "Renjian cihua" 人間詞話 (Notes on *ci* poems in the human world), in which are found these expressions of Wang Guowei.

tive reality to be expressed: in Chen Duxiu's 陳獨秀 1917 manifesto "Wenxue geming lun" 文學革命論 (On literary revolution), the new literature must be lyrical (*shuqing* 抒情) and at the same time realistic (*xieshi*) (Chen [1917] 1997, 20). In fact, the opposition at the time was more between realism and classicism (seen from a point of view of artifice or didacticism) than between objective reality and subjectivity. Realism, just like idealism (or romanticism), aimed at imposing "content" (*neirong* 內容) on a literature accused of pure "formalism" (*xingshi* 形式):[8] the expression of "truth" transcends its modalities, one colder, the other more subjective or more visionary, just as, for Liang Qichao, there exist several ways to express sentiment in poetry, one of which can be qualified as being "romantic" and the other as "realistic."[9]

For the contemporary Chinese of the new culture movement, idealism represented the power of the mind, and realism, that of things, two complementary powers which China could not do without in the period of crisis through which it was going. The opinions given on literature reflect the feeling of this general climate: if romanticism can be seen to be accused of not sufficiently having its feet on the ground, and of taking pleasure from "the golden world of the imagination (Chen [1916] 1987)," naturalism is criticized because it looks down upon the inner demands which enable humanity to overcome its environment (Yu [1927] 1983, 93).

During a rather long time, the critics and the theoreticians would sway between these two polarities, which are two ways of responding to the challenge cast by reality: Liang Qichao leaned towards "the ideal," the only way capable of making a servile and stagnant China take off, and he himself wrote a political Utopia;[10] in the beginning, Lu Xun would insist on the power of the

8 In Tian Han's article mentioned above, the "content" in romanticism, which consists of two elements, the ego (*ziwo* 自我) and the ideal (*lixiang*), is opposed to the "form" in classicism (Tian 1920a, 18). See also T. Xu 1923. In the same way, Chen Duxiu defines Chinese as well as Western classicism, by sterile imitation and the absence of real signification (Chen [1916] 1987).

9 Liang Qichao distinguishes six ways to express sentiment (*biaoqingfa* 表情法): "impetuous" (*benbengde* 奔迸的); "nagging" (*huidangde* 回蕩的); "reserved" (*yunjiede* 蘊藉的); "symbolistic" (*xiangzhengpaide* 象征派的); "romantic" (*langmanpaide* 浪漫派的); and "realistic" (*xieshipaide* 寫實派的) (Q. Liang 1922). Here, romanticism is considered above all as being a technique of expression. Cf. Sun 2002, 48; Xia 2006, 139.

10 See Sun 2002, 1st part, chap. 1, 35–49: "Wenren yingxiong meng: Liang Qichao 文人英雄夢 — 梁啟超 (The heroic dreams of the scholar: Liang Qichao). The author explains that for Liang, the spiritual ego must overcome the carnal ego, and that his unfinished novel *Xin Zhonggguo weilai ji* 新中國未來記 (The future of new China) tends towards the *"lixiangpai,"* as opposed to *"xieshipai."*

ideal;[11] a little later, the Literary Research Association would favour the objective description of reality. Nevertheless, for the supporters of "literature for life," idealism is acceptable, and even desirable, when it expresses dissatisfaction and a wish to go beyond reality; it becomes debatable when it wanders off too much from real life, and the concern for the "beautiful" replaces that of the "real." For Zhou Zuoren, the Japanese poet Kitamura Tōkoku 北村透谷 (1868–1894) incarnates an idealism which does not break the link between literature and life. Kitamura was at the origin of a movement related to "romanticism" (*chuanqipai*) at the end of the nineteenth century, which extolled the destruction of tradition, respect of the individual, the rejection of past beliefs and virtue, and the search for a particular ideal. Inversely, because the writers of the Friends of the Ink Stone Society (*Kenyūsha* 硯友社) practised "art for art" which puts the accent on the beautiful, and not on the true, their observation is deprived of depth (Zhou [1918] 1992, 187). In a certain manner, romanticism is valorised, because by operating a rupture with the bygone order, it prepares the ground for asserting a realistic current shed of the taboos of tradition: it appears as being a necessary transition, but remains subordinated to the ultimate aim, which is to ensure getting a grip on reality.[12]

In fact, most theoreticians give preference to a realism penetrated by an ideal: Zhou Zuoren considers as synonymous the expressions *"rendaozhuyi wenxue"* 人道主義文學(humanistic literature), *"rensheng wenxue"* 人生文學 (literature of life) and *"lixiangzhuyi wenxue"* 理想主義文學 (idealistic literature) (Zhou [1920] 1992, 140). This ideal combines individual sentiments and the solicitude for humanity (what Chen Duxiu summarizes in the notion of *"ziwo kuoda"* 自我擴大, the broadening of the ego) (Chen [1920] 2001, 128), of which the models are Tolstoy or Romain-Rolland[13] rather than the great writers of the romantic period. It represents, unquestionably, one of the facets

11 A critic explains that Lu Xun wanted to save the country through a spiritual revolution, and therefore in the beginning he was inclined towards romanticism. See X. Xiao 2003, 78.

12 Cf. Yan [1982] 2000, 235. Romanticism "has in reality opened up the path for the realistic current which will then be developed in literature and art." There, it is of course an objective acknowledgement, based on historical facts, but this utterance seems to me to have at the same time a teleological implication.

13 Authors considered by Zhou Zuoren as the inspirers of the Japanese "neo-subjective" current *Shirakaba*, alongside Bergson, Blake and Whitman: cf. Zhou [1918] 1992, 193. It is worth noting that the term "idealism" was also used to indicate more particularly the tendency embodied by the *Shirakaba* group.

of romanticism in China in the 1920s, for example that of Ba Jin[14] or the one which made Zheng Boqi say that "in the Literary Research Association there are also writers with a romantic tendency." Inversely, he adds, "quite a few Creation Society writers have published works of a realistic tendency" (Zheng [1935] 1999, 83). It is true that the Creation "romanticists" claimed to be for "truth" as much as for "beauty,"[15] justifying thereby those for whom idealism better characterizes abstract classicism than romanticism, which works on the concrete and the particular.[16] Finally, it is not by chance that neo-romanticism, because it appears to reconcile the two extremes—the "pure" objectivity of realism and the "pure exaltation" of romanticism—was so unanimously appreciated at the time of May Fourth.[17]

Romanticism as a Revolt

The idea incarnated by romanticism is, first of all, that of revolt. The ideal must not be taken here as an abstract model, in the sense whereby precisely classical

14 The Jesuit missionary and historian of modern Chinese literature Jean Monsterleet called Ba Jin a "romantic and revolutionary writer" (Monsterleet 1953, 24), a "romantic poet" and a "humanitarian" (36). As for Pingsin (Bing Xin), she is "the Lamartine of the schoolchildren of China" (77), representative of a romanticism characterised by its sentimentality and its idealism: "Escape in the dream, simple idealism, a somewhat tearful sentimentalism, foggy pantheism, her preferred themes: the sea, the night, the lakes, the mountains, her melodious and enchanting style, everything relates her to romanticism. All her work is nothing but a dream of love and of beauty" (81).

15 Cf. Yu [1926] 1982, 17. "The fiction must release the truth (*zhenli*) hidden behind the facts (*shishi*)." A fiction has reached its aim when it has fulfilled truth and beauty, which have therefore indirectly a social function. Yu specifies in this text that the error of naturalism consists in confining oneself to the external observation without making the writer's subjectivity intervene. From 1923, in his "*Chuangzaori* Xuanyuan" (Manifesto of Creation daily) he called for a *"weizhen weimei"* 唯真唯美 (spirit) (of aestheticism and of the search for the truth) (Yu [1923] 1983). The *Chuangzaori* is a supplement of the *Zhonghua xinbao*.

16 Cf. Michaut 1900, 131. According to certain critics, "Romanticism is the faithful imitation of things just as they are; classicism takes pleasure in the ideal, romanticism in reality; one stays in generalities, the other penetrates in the individualities, it paints characters not passions, mankind not ideas."

17 Wang Tongzhao opposed the "pure objectivity" of realism to the "pure exaltation" of romanticism, the synthesis being found in "neo-romanticism," for example that of Yeats, where passion is expressed serenely (Wang [1921] 1997).

art could embody it, but as a refusal to accept reality.[18] The words "revolt" and "liberation" are at the heart of the definitions of romanticism given in China, today just as at the time of May Fourth, often with a social or political meaning: for Tian Han, romanticism is linked to democracy, as well as classicism to capitalism, naturalism to socialism and neo-romanticism to social democracy (Tian 1920a, 13–4; 18–31).

In his *Little Dictionary of Literature and the Arts*, Mao Dun describes romanticism as a "revolt against classicism," characterized by the expression of subjectivity, a democratic spirit and the quest for the new and the exotic. A few years later, he highlights the political context of the movement, explaining that it echoes the springing into life of bourgeois democracy (Mao [1930] 1985, 75–100). The critics willingly rely on the word of Hugo equating romanticism to liberalism,[19] forgetting that there is no absolute connection between writers' literary practice and their political choices. From whence certain confusion arises between progressivism, even the revolutionary spirit in politics, and romanticism in literature. The critics of the People's Republic of China hail Lu Xun as a romanticist, if not due to his works, at least due to his ideas and some of his early texts, e.g., his 1907 publication "Moluo shi li shuo" 摩羅詩力說 (On the power of the poets of Mara) (Lu [1907a] 1981) and consider Guo Moruo 郭沫若 at one and the same time the model of the romanticists as well as of the anti-feudal revolt. The choice of these two writers as color bearers witnesses the valorisation of romanticism as a political revolt. Critics like to recall the words of Jiang Guangci 蔣光慈: "All revolutionaries are also romanticists. How can one take part in a revolution without being romantic?" (Sun 2002, 36). Not without reversing, perhaps unconsciously, the terms of the axiom, "All revolutionaries are also romanticists" being understood as "All romanticists are revolutionaries."

This definition of romanticism as a movement of opposition to the established order, has antecedents with the traditional distinction between *mingshi* 名士 (honorable non-serving scholars), according to Mau-sang Ng's expression) (Ng 1988, 121) and scholarly-civil servants at the service of the powers that be: for Zhu Shoutong, it is marginality, and not subjectivity, that is the

18 It is undoubtedly in this sense that one should interpret the triple opposition formulated in Xu Tanzheng's article "Yingguo langmanpai san shiren": classicism would represent artifice (*zhiqiao* 智巧), form (*xingshi* 形式) and reality (*xianshi* 現實); romanticism, sentiment (*qingxu* 情緒), content (*neirong* 内容) and the ideal (*lixiang* 理想) (T. Xu 1923).

19 "Romanticism is nothing more than liberalism in literature": *Preface of Cromwell*, cited by Sun, (Sun 2002, 36) who puts forward this claim: "Liberalism in literature has always been the reflection of political liberalism."

dominant trait of romanticism (the latter being only the consequence of the former); he even formulates a law: any writer quitting the periphery for the centre would at the same time abandon romanticism (Zhu 2005). The romanticists are therefore quite naturally descendants of Li Bai 李白 and of Qu Yuan 屈原, less by their writing than by their real position or the one which they claim to have.

Added to that is the old opposition between dominant culture (incarnated by the Confucianists) and alternative culture, of Taoist essence, between the "romanticism" of the South (Chu culture), chivalrous, shamanistic and more liberal on a moral level, and Confucian rationalism of the Yellow River China, that "lukewarm" China of the "happy medium" (*zhongyong*), of which the Werther of Goethe, with his "going all out" passion, represented, in the eyes of Guo Moruo, the perfect antithesis.[20]

Nevertheless, Chinese historians of literature agree in saying that the classical poets were not real rebels, thereby taking up an opinion formed by Lu Xun who, in "The Power of the Poets of Mara" wrote that even with Qu Yuan, one doesn't feel rebellion and defiance: their dependency towards the powers that be, which they aspire to rejoin even if they were rejected by them, will stop them from frankly opposing the system.[21] Zhu Shoutong considers for his part that Tao Yuanming, Qu Yuan and Li Bai had never departed from their aristocratic attitude and they had therefore lacked one of the conditions of romantic marginality (Zhu 2005, 102).

One particular point should be stressed regarding the revolt expressed in Chinese romantic works. Many observers have been struck by the naturalism of certain works of Yu Dafu 郁達夫, to such an extent that his short story "Chenlun" 沉淪 (Sinking), when published, was described as naturalist, instead of romantic.[22] We know that the mixture of romanticism and naturalism is a salient trait of modern Japanese literature: the romanticism of the authors gathered around the review *Bungakukai* 文學界 (World of literature) had a sensualist tonality (X. Xiao 2003, 8), and the work of several writers, such as Kitamura Tōkoku and Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872–1943), is sit-

20 Guo [1922] 1997, 207. On the characteristics of Southern literature, illustrated by Shen Congwen, see H. Liu 1997, 256. According to the author, super-ego (*chaowo*) weighs less on the id (*benwo*) in the Chu culture.

21 For the allusion to Qu Yuan and his lack of a spirit of defiance, see Lu [1907a] 1981, 69.

22 See Zhong [1922] 1997, 212–5. According to the author, the Yu Dafu collection is characterized by unconscious amoralism, a reflection of conflicts between desires and reality, such as can be found in the naturalist novel and in decadent works. The author cites also on this subject, the *Hongloumeng*.

uated on the borderline of the two currents.[23] Takayama Chogyū 高山樗牛 (1871–1902), translator of Goethe's *Werther* and admirer of Whitman and of Nietzsche, was a hedonist for whom the ideal life resided in the satisfaction of sexual desire (113). Inversely, Japanese naturalism, so much appreciated by Yu Dafu,[24] has remained fundamentally linked to romanticism by its subjective character, as particularly illustrated by the famous short story of Tayama Katai 天山花袋, "Futon" 棉被. Here lies the whole ambiguity of the Japanese *shishōsetsu* 私小説 (I-Novel), the romantic color of which results, according to certain critics, from a wrong interpretation of naturalism (X. Xiao 2003, 210). Does the naturalist color of certain Japanese or Chinese romantic writings proceed from a similar misunderstanding?

In actual fact, naturalism and romanticism meet on common ground: that of sexual prohibitions. Seen from this angle, the former embodies no less than the latter the dimensions of "revolt" or anti-conformism. Yu Dafu's "daring self-exposure" in his early works was, according to Guo Moruo's formula, "a storm which struck at the hypocrisy of the scholars (*shidafu* 士大夫) hidden behind their millenary armoured plating" (Guo [1946] 1982–1992, 317). Moreover, the dissipation of morals and the taste for eroticism were traits that were willingly attributed to *mingshi*.[25] On the theoretical level, Kuriyagawa Hakuson compares the cult of disorder of the romanticists, related to their concern to create "a feeling for life" (*shengminggan* 生命感), with the description, without taboo, of the sexuality by the naturalists, among whom he places Baudelaire (Kuriyagawa [1924] 2000, 128).[26] And in another text, he cites side by side, in a list of "essential realities" discovered by the artists and "escaping from reason and morals," the "passion" of romanticists and the "eroticism" of naturalists (163). It is not by chance that Chen Duxiu called upon the intellectuals in their revolt against dominant morals, to assume the role "of a Hugo, a Zola,

---

23 These two writers are presented as romanticists in the work of Xiao Xia. René Sieffert considers Kitamura as a romanticist and classifies Shimazaki among the naturalists (Sieffert 1973, 185, 190), whereas Georges Bonneau distinguishes two stages in the career of Shimazaki, the first one romanticist, the second naturalist (Bonneau 1940, 54, 56).

24 On this subject see Sun 2002, 115; Zheng [1959] 1999, 25. Yu Dafu particularly appreciated Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Sato Haruo and Kasai Zenzo. On this aspect of modern Japanese literature, see the article of Yoshikawa Yasuhisa (Yoshikawa 2005).

25 Cf. Zheng [1962] 1999, 49, where the author discusses Wang Duqing and his Bohemian behaviour.

26 From Lu Xun's translation of Kuriyagawa's collection of essays *Out of the ivory tower* (1920), published with another work by Kuriyagawa titled *Kumen de xiangzheng* 苦悶的象征 (The symbol of depression). Both translations were published in one volume under the title *Kumen de xiangzheng*.

a Whitman, a Dickens, or a Wilde" (Sun 2002, 17). In his 1920 article "Shiren yu laodong wenti," Tian Han, relying mainly on Japanese critics, observed that naturalism was generally considered as a continuation of romanticism, inasmuch as it was a recombination of the "natural" elements of the latter with realism (Tian 1920a, 31).

Romanticism as a Projection into the Future

The impetus of the revolt should lead to the creation of a new world. If romanticism is linked to idealism, it is notably by this tropism towards the future: "some distinguish the realistic works, which reflect the social reality of the times, and the idealistic works which prophesy the future," as noted by the Japanese critic Kuriyagawa Hakuson.[27] For Chen Duxiu, the contemporary "neo-idealism" is distinct from that of the classic period (*gudai* 古代) by the fact that it is concerned about "the future of the present day world" (*xian shi de weilai*), and that it thus embodies a compromise between the abstract future of classical idealism and the materialism, solely preoccupied by the present moment (*xianshi* 現勢), of the modern age which has immediately preceded it (Chen [1920] 2001).

The definitions of the word *"langmanzhuyi"* in the People's Republic of China widely display this futuristic dimension coupled with social and political action. Some dictionaries place the word *"huanxiang"* 幻想 (dream, fancy), often applied to romanticists, in the category of dreams about the future.[28] European romanticism, supposed to reflect the struggle of the dawning bourgeoisie against the traditional feudal forces, is often related to the utopian socialist current of the nineteenth century (X. Xiao 2003, 92).

However, for the critics who admit the existence of an earlier form of romanticism in China, the obsession with the future is a symptom of the breath of the new spirit blown in by the West. For Sun Yixue, if the "classic" romanticism (that of Qu Yuan or of Li Bai) was rather turned towards the past, and if the

27 In his work *Kumon no* shōchō 苦悶の象徴 (The symbol of depression) (Kuriyagawa [1924] 2000, 86). This essay was published after the critic died in the 1923 earthquake. See also Footnote 28.

28 In *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 現代漢語詞典 (The contemporary Chinese dictionary; Beijing Commercial Press, 1973, internal trial edition), "huanxiang" 幻想 means "to imagine things not yet realized by relying on social or individual ideals and aspirations." In *Cihai* 辭海 (Sea of words) the word indicates "specific imagination turned towards the future." "Huanxiang xiaoshuo" means "novel of anticipation."

psychological dependence of the authors with regard to orthodoxy conferred it a "melancholic" color by stifling the ferments of revolt which it bore, the romanticism of May Fourth forges ahead towards the creation of a new culture (Sun 2002, 21). Liang Qichao's 1902 political novel *Xin Zhongguo weilai ji* 新中國未來記 (The future of new China), which refers to future times, is supposed to bear witness, according to Sun Yixue, by its title alone, to Liang Qichao's romantic temperament.[29] Going by this logic, the romanticism incarnated by Shen Congwen 沈從文, anchored in traditional Chinese aesthetics and not much influenced by Western romanticism, appears to be considered by the critic as being outside of "modern romanticism," as the monographs of the writers which are found in the following chapters of Sun's book come to a stop at Xu Zhimo and do not deal with the Hunanese writer.[30]

As for Yu Dafu, he preferred to distinguish, in the literature of the past, two tendencies which he named respectively *"langmanzhuyi"* 浪漫主義 (romanticism) and "*xunqingzhuyi*" 殉情主義 (sentimentalism): romanticism was to be that of young individuals and of nations taking off, the vitality of which is expressed by the forgetfulness of the past, the will to free themselves from a frustrating present and the enthusiastic projection into the future. Youth, he writes:

> has a forgetful attitude with regard to the past, a destructive one with regard to the present, a conquering one with regard to the future. Globally speaking, this tendency is passionate, utopian, romantic (*chuanqi* 傳奇), destructive. Its expression in literature is romanticism.

This was predominant under the Jin and Yuan dynasties. However, it is sentimentalism that was the dominant current in China: contrary to romanticism, according to the author, it is the sign of an aging society becoming absorbed by melancholy in the memory of the past.[31] In this "sentimentalism," one

29 Sun 2002, 43.The author specifies that Liang Qichao did not use the term "romantic" to designate his novel.

30 Sun Yixue calls this romanticism, incarnated by Zhou Zuoren, Fei Ming and Shen Congwen, "*tianyuan shuqing wenxue*" 田園抒情文學 (lyrical bucolic literature). See Sun 2002, 32.

31 Yu [1927] 1983, 79–80. We find also an entry "sentimentalism" (*ganshangzhuyi* 感傷主義) in the *Little Dictionary of Literature and the Arts* of Mao Dun (Mao [1925] 2001, 379): the author defines it as an aspect of romanticism (*chuanqizhuyi*) while opposing it at the same time to the latter, the romantic imagination being "vigorous and profound" whereas sentimentalism is fine and subtle.

recognises the elegiac mode considered by Tökei as the major tonality of Chinese literary tradition (Tökei 1967).

Yu Dafu is not the inventor of this vitalistic schema: he has obviously borrowed it from the work of Arishima Takeo 有島武郎 (1878–1923), *Seikatsu to bungaku* 生活と文學 (Life and literature), which he cites in the bibliography of his 1927 article "Wenxue gaishuo" 文學概說 (Outline of literature) (Yu [1927] 1983), and in which we rediscover several of the ideas which inform the Chinese discourse of the 1920s on romanticism (Arishima 1929).[32] Whether it is of Japanese origin or whether it plunges its roots more deeply into the organicistic and vitalistic Western thinking of the beginning of the century, connecting the literary currents with the ages of man was sure to find a favourable echo in a period haunted by the question of evolution.[33]

Had he applied this schema to himself, Yu Dafu would certainly have been forced to admit that he was more of a sentimentalist than a romanticist. His sentimentalist tone has remained the basis for not considering him as a true "romantic."[34] Mau-sang Ng observes that "instead of a confident hero pompously asserting his ego, we have (with Yu Dafu) a weak and wavering hero, torn by conflicts, with a deep inferiority complex" (Ng 1988, 92), which removes him far away from the romantic Western hero.

It is again for its sentimentalism, that Mao Dun criticized the early Creation Society in his 1929 essay "Du *Ni Huanzhi*" 讀《倪煥之》(Reading *Ni Huanzhi*):

---

32 This work of Arishima Takeo was published in 1929 in Shanghai under the title *Shenghuo yu wenxue* 生活與文學, in a translation by Zhang Wojun 張我軍. It is this version I consulted ("sentimentalism" is translated by *"ganshangzhuyi"*). The Yu Dafu article, dated 1927, must have been based on the original version.

33 A similar metaphor is found in Tian Han's essay "Xin luomanzhuyi ji qita" 新羅曼主義及其他 (Neo-romanticism and others) (Tian 1920b, 39), but with a different implication: the French romanticism of the post-Revolution era is compared to the burst of naïve enthusiasm of a 20 year-old youth, and the naturalism to the more mature perception of life of a young man in his thirties.

34 It is significant, for example, that the work of Qin Kangzong 秦亢宗 and Jiang Chengyu 蔣成瑀 (Qin and Jiang 1986) contains two chapters entitled respectively: "Guo Moruo and the new romantic poetry (*langmanpai xin shi*)" and "Yu Dafu and the sentimental fiction (*ganshangpai xiaoshuo*)," even if the two notions of romanticism and of sentimentalism are linked in the continuation of the latter chapter (see p.269, the expressions *"langmanzhuyi de ganshangpai xiaoshuo"* 浪漫主義的感傷派小說 and *"xiaoji langmanzhuyi"* 消極浪漫主義).

> At that time the slogan of the Creation Society was "art for art's sake" […] Sentimentality (*ganqingzhuyi* 感情主義) and individualism pervade their works from that period […] it was a period of "indecision and frustration," because the May Thirtieth had not yet occurred, because the gentlemen of the Creation Society were living in their ivory tower, and because sentimentality, individualism, hedonism, and aestheticism offered a momentary intoxication for the abnormal psychology of "indecisive and frustrated" youth.[35]

The fact that the word "romanticism" is not even used by Mao Dun, may be seen as a testimony, that the term was not deemed appropriate for describing the passive and negative mental state of this most famous "romantic" group. By the same token, he blames "the portrayal of the frustrations of the young in [Yu Dafu's] 'Sinking'" for lacking "social significance" (Mao [1929] 1996, 292).

Ideological Partiality and Actual Complexity in the Interpretation of Chinese Romanticism

Between the two faces commonly attributed to romanticism, one being "Promethean," the other "Wertherian" (Lee 1973), it is hence unquestionably the first one which prevails in mainland China's critique. This dominant image of romanticism, which conjugates idealism, revolt and projection into the future, has undoubtedly been nurtured by the political context. By the late 1920s, priority was given, in the leftist literary circles, to active romanticism, embodied in political ideals: dreamy romanticism could only justify its existence by melting into "revolutionary romanticism"[36] or by forming an alliance with a social ideal. At that time, Mao Dun's judgement toward the bourgeois individualism of romanticism and its propensity to build castles in the air had become more explicit (Mao [1930] 1985, 76).

But this preference given to active romanticism plunges its roots deeper into the evolutionist thought prevailing at the turn of the century, and into the myth of rebirth inherent in the May Fourth spirit: as Liu Zaifu puts it aptly, the writers of this generation harboured feelings of responsibility and even "guilt" toward themselves and the nation, which made them long for personal and

35 I quote the English translation by Yu-shih Chen (Mao [1929] 1996, 294).

36 For Chinese literary historians, the romanticism of the Creation Society leads to revolutionary romanticism, which nevertheless will be compelled to marginalization when individual conscience must be submitted to class consciousness. Cf. Sun 2002, 31.

national regeneration. In 1920, Guo Moruo wrote the following words to Zong Baihua: "My former life went adrift in the darkness of hell; from now on, I shall live a human life in a world of light" (Z. Liu 1988, 160–1).

Such a restrictive definition of romanticism has led to the suppression or underestimation of some aspects generally considered to be relevant to the romantic spirit, especially the "fin de siècle" way of thinking: decadent, disabused, pessimistic. The presence of "fin de siècle" aspects has often been observed in romantic writers, notably Yu Dafu (Qin and Jiang 1986, 269), but without elucidating the relations they maintain with the romantic aspects of the same authors: is there a contradiction between the two, as suggested by Sun Yixue recalling a remark of Zheng Boqi: Yu Dafu, that some classify among the "decadents" (*tuifeipai* 頹廢派), keeps "a romantic heart, harbouring a revolt (*fankang* 反抗) beneath his complaints" (Sun 2002, 84)? Decadence is thus characterized by its negativity, whereas romanticism is active, positive, and therefore globally optimistic: after having demonstrated a "romantic temperament" characterised by "optimism and zeal," Xu Zhimo falls back again into a "fin de siècle gloom" (126, 128). For Zhu Shoutong, narcissism (in the positive sense of the term) is an essential component of the romantic spirit, and Yu Dafu is disqualified, as a romanticist, by his inferiority complex and his propensity to humiliate himself (*zibei* 自卑). According to Zhu, the fin de siècle way of thinking would indicate giving up the struggle, after the phase of romantic insurrection. Fortunately, some critics have challenged this somewhat simplistic view: Xiao Tongqing's article published in 1996 in *Wenxue pinglun* 文学評論 (Literary review) claims romanticism to be pessimistic as opposed to modernity, while rationalism and the belief in progress are characteristic of realist literature (T. Xiao 1996). The romanticism of the 1920s is therefore brought closer, even merged with the fin de siècle way of thinking, which the author traces in abundance in the characters of Yu Dafu and of Guo Moruo, and even in those of Lu Xun's works.

Most critics of the People's Republic of China consider the political disenchantment experienced from the decline of the May Fourth movement to be the reason for the passage from active romanticism to passive romanticism, disappointment and discouragement preventing writers like Yu Dafu from turning towards the future (Sun 2002, 27). Wertherian melancholy is thus conceived negatively as a failure of romanticism, the by-product of hopes and enthusiasm aroused by the surge of the May Fourth wave. This explanation by the context is nevertheless not supported by any precise element: where, in time, does it tip over? Did it happen at the turn of that year 1921 which saw the publication, within a few months, of the optimistic songs of Guo Moruo's *Nüshen* 女神 (Goddesses), written for the most part during the previous years,

and the melancholic short stories of the *Sinking* collection of Yu Dafu, while their respective authors were still in Japan? What is more, the opposition of the two romantic types is much less watertight than it appears: the "Promethean" Guo Moruo, as a fiction writer, is not far from the "Wertherian" Yu Dafu. Is the relation of these writers with reality and time not more complex than it is sometimes represented?

In fact, most of the romantic writers of the 1920s have experienced difficulty in coming to terms with their own sentimental or backward-looking streak.

Yu Dafu was lucid about the dangers of sentimentality. In his essay "Outline of Literature," he notes that romanticism, by subordinating reason to sentiment, runs the risk of giving way to chimera. Therefore, it is not in the romanticism of the nineteenth century, accused of "lacking willpower to achieve its ideals," but in contemporary idealism, represented in literature by Strindberg, Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, Whitman and Edward Carpenter, that he places his confidence (Yu [1927] 1983, chap. 5): obviously, Yu Dafu, at that time, had rallied to the ambient discourse according to which romanticism could achieve nothing without taking on the sense of reality, although he had difficulty turning into a real man of action.

If romanticism does involve an aspiration towards a better future, individual as well as collective, we know that it has often been accompanied by the opposite movement: a return to a more or less remote past, to the unpolluted original state of nature, to the Middle Ages or the chivalrous centuries. For Walter Muschg, Rousseau "obliged his epoch to look away from the future and the present, and rather look back at the past, and he was the founder of the myth of the origins which thenceforth was to be called: romanticism."[37] The Chinese writers who gave the first definitions of nineteenth-century romanticism by drawing on Western sources were well aware of this passéist dimension: citing Madame de Staël, Tian Han describes romanticism as Christian-inspired, mystical and fascinated with the Middle Ages.[38] Certainly, all the May Fourth authors felt carried away by a strong current of youthful contestation. However, their romanticism is not made up entirely of ruptures. Their melancholy is also that of an epoch still looking back at the past, to which, in a certain way, it continues to cling.

37 Muschg 1948; quoted in the introduction of Maxime Alexandre to *Romantiques allemands* (Alexandre [1963] 1976, xxiv).

38 Tian 1920a, 18. The diagram used by Tian Han to visualize the opposition between classicism and romanticism is borrowed from the Japanese critic Shimamura Hōgetsu 島村抱月 (1871–1918). See also the definition of "chuanqizhuyi" in Mao Dun's *Little Dictionary of Literature and the Arts* (Mao [1925] 2001).

Even with the Promethean Guo Moruo, the ideal future often takes on the face of times past, of the origins: if he admires Goethe's *Werther*, it is, he says, for five reasons: the central position he gives to sentiment; his pantheism; his glorification of nature; his veneration for primitive life; and his cult of childhood. It is the love of nature that dictates to the hero his revolt against artifices, morals, social classes, religion and even knowledge (Guo [1922] 1997, 206–8).

The hesitation at the threshold of tomorrow's world is displayed in diverse ways: by references to ancient literature or by a writing which spontaneously reanimates the sentimentalism of the past, that of *Xixiangji* 西廂記 (Romance of the west chamber) or *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 (The story of the stone), the shadow of which hovers, for example, over the adolescent loves of two cousins in Ni Yide's 倪貽德 "Huaying" 花影 (Shadows of flowers) (Ni 1923); by the nostalgia of maternal or virginal figures or that of one's native country, to which even those who had fled from it never cease to return, as if all new life was impossible (Yu [1922] 1993); by the coming and going between the town, the place of the future and of action, and the countryside which revives phantasms of original paradise; finally by exoticism, the pictures of which (shores of the Mediterranean, figures of the Middle Ages) help to avoid the reality of the moment and the call of the future.[39] It is not without painful regrets that Guo Moruo takes leave, in the preface of his 1925 collection *Ta* 塔 (Pagoda), of the capricious dreaming which revolutionary romanticism will no longer allow, giving evidence of the gap between the pressure of political engagement and his natural inclinations:

> The pitiless life drove me, day after day, right up to the crossroads (*shizi jietou* 十字街頭): this pursuit of agreeable fancies, this charm of far away countries, these nostalgic meditations, I greatly fear that they will never return to visit me.
>
> Oh, youth! My romantic days are over! Here, I bid you farewell![40]

Non-revolutionary writers have found it easier coming to terms with the decadent, pessimistic or past-oriented color of romanticism. In an article dedicated to Thomas Hardy, who had just died, Xu Zhimo explained that romanticism represented a decisive step towards the development of the modern conscience:

39 See, for example, "Ka'ermeiluo guniang" 喀爾美蘿姑娘 (Donna Carmela), by Guo Moruo (Guo [1924] 1994); "Yinhuise de si" 銀灰色的死 (Silvery death) by Yu Dafu (Yu [1921] 1993).

40 Quoted by Zheng Boqi in Zheng [1935] 1999, 100.

> The death of Hardy marks the end of a crucial epoch in history, the starting point of which is constituted by Rousseau's thinking and personality. It is in the words and the acts of the latter that the modern "liberation of the ego" and the "conscience of the ego" were officially born. From the *Confessions* to the French Revolution, from the Revolution to the romantic movement, from the romantic movement to Nietzsche (and Dostoïevski), from Nietzsche to Hardy, in 170 years, we have seen the impulsive sentiment of humanity ridding itself of the grip held by reason and bursting out like a flame: in this light are born all sorts of movements and theories, at the same time that the "modern conscience" was smouldering in cinders, morbid, introspective, sceptic, weary, and the more the blazing fire cooled down, the more the cinders below spread out, until a feeling of annihilation weakens all the living efforts, chokes the sentiments, paralyses reason, and that humanity suddenly realizes that it has strayed to such an extent that it borders on despair, and that if it continues to advance, it will be confronted with death and silence. (Z. Xu [1928] 1997, 568)

Actually, the broadening of the ego, consubstantial to romanticism, opens depths which the leap towards the future alone cannot fill up. Romanticism does in fact signify, above all, the entry into modernity, with all the contradictions it comprises: thirst for liberty and awareness of its inaccessibility; desire for and fear of the future; entry into the epoch of the cities and nostalgia for the past. The fin de siècle way of thinking of the romanticists expresses the disarray of those conscious that they will never return to a state of nature or to the simplicity of patriarchal order and who have, as a sole prospect, an improbable political utopia.

It is finally toward Shen Congwen that one must turn in order to find, under its most genuine form, another romanticism which gives the word its full meaning as a quest embracing the human being and the world in their entirety, while refusing to limit it to the contestation of the present state of the world and to the leap forward towards the future.

Although Shen Congwen is rarely studied as a romantic author, he is assuredly, in many respects, one of the most authentic figures of romanticism among the modern ones. But his romanticism, it seems to me, is not limited to the affinities traditionally assigned to him (and not without reason) with the ancient Chu culture spirit: mysterious atmosphere impregnated with magic and sorcery, liberal sexual morality, and praise of the state of ignorance, as many traits which define a primitive "romanticism" situated at the antipodes of

modern rationalism.[41] It dwells much more on the search for what founds the permanence of the human spirit and its relations with natural order through the different stages of the development of civilisation. Shen Congwen's world is not a tasteless idyll, but a complex world, at one and the same time sacred and frightening, which reconciles instinctive life with life of the soul, vital energy with the ideal, and dark depths of the psyche with desires for elevation. Whereas Shen Congwen is truly a man of May Fourth, concerned with the survival and the progress of his people, he refuses the unidirectional impulse towards the future, because humanity in its ideal state must take on the past in all its density; in other words it must become modern without losing the *shen* 神 (the spirit or the sacred) which is within it.

But if he insists so much on the survival of the past, it is because he is anxious about its possible disappearance, in the vast movement of heroization of the future which is then taking shape. His long meditation entitled *Shui yun* 水雲 (Water and clouds) expresses the anticipated nostalgia of an epoch soon to be gone: the women who stood out along Shen's sentimental path, arousing successive passions now reduced to cinders, serve as metaphors to a whole past that the epoch condemns.

> You are now ready to fulfil your task: perpetuate, thanks to your pen, the vision of the existence of the last of the romanticists of the twentieth century . . .
>
> . . . I must, at a time when the 'sacred' is disintegrating, sing once again its praises. In a time when classical poems full of nobleness and refinement are losing their lustre and their meaning, it is with devotion that I shall write the last lyrical poem.[42]

The supremacy of the romanticism of the future could not be contested more clearly.

Conclusion

From the presentation made of romanticism in China, there emerges the view of an idealist current animated by the feeling of revolt and resolutely turned

41 See H. Liu 1997, 284. For the author, this adherence to the state of ignorance represents "an opposite path" with regard to the movement of May Fourth "enlightenment."

42 English translation by Ian MacCabe, based on the French translation of Isabelle Rabut (Rabut 1996, 53–4).

towards the future. As to what deviates from this militant romanticism, other names are often attributed: sentimentalism, decadence, fin de siècle way of thinking. This restrictive definition of romanticism is legitimate, though only on the condition that it is shown as such. But the underlying presumptions are left unsaid because they are not thoroughly thought out. Other definitions of romanticism come to the surface, here and there, without any real effort at confrontation being made, and in the end the reader gets a general impression of confusion.

Pretending to arrive at a consensus on a notion so multiform in its content and in its local and historic expressions is undoubtedly a risky gamble. For the time being, I simply hope to have demonstrated, by this brief critical survey, the extent of the questions concerning Chinese romanticism in the first half of the twentieth century. By way of this inquiry, it appeared to me notably, that the regressive dimension, the contradictions and the refusal to sacrifice everything for the future, are far more widespread among the writers of May Fourth than it is generally said. The heroic model of the iconoclastic rebel, who lends color to the epoch, cannot account for the phenomenon in its totality: in actual fact, romantic literature reveals much hesitation and nostalgia. Eventually, literary reality proves always more complex and more uncertain than the theories which strive to conceive it.

Works Cited

Alexandre, Maxime. [1963] 1976. *Romantiques allemands* (German romantics), vol. 1. Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.

Arishima, Takeo. 1929. *Shenghuo yu wenxue* 生活與文學 (Life and literature). Trans. Zhang Wojun 張我軍. Shanghai: Beixin shuju publications.

Bonneau, Georges. 1940. *Histoire de la littérature japonaise contemporaine*. Paris: Payot.

Chen, Duxiu 陳獨秀. [1916] 1987. "Da Zhang Yongyan" 答張永言 (Reply to Zhang Yongyan). In *Duxiu wencun* 獨秀文存 (Collection of texts by [Chen] Duxiu), vol. 3 (Correspondence), 628–9. Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe.

———. [1917] 1997. "Wenxue geming lun" 文學革命論 (On literary revolution). *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New youth) 2, no. 6 (February 1). In Yan Jiayan 嚴家炎, ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo lilun ziliao* 二十世紀中國小說理論資料 (Theoretical material on Chinese fiction in the twentieth century), vol. 2 (1917–1927). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.

———. [1920] 2001. "Zisha lun" 自殺論 (About suicide). In Ma Yi et al., eds., *Xin qingnian xuancui* 新青年選粹 (Selection of articles from New youth), 115–28. Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe.

Guo, Moruo 郭沫若. [1922] 1997. "Shaonian Weite zhi fannao xuyin 少年維特之煩惱序引 (Preface to Sufferings of young Werther). *Chuangzao jikan* 創造季刊 (Creation quarterly) 1, no 1 (March 15). In *Theoretical Material on Chinese Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2.

———. [1924] 1994. "Ka'ermeiluo guniang" 喀爾美蘿姑娘 (Donna Carmela). In *Guo Moruo: piaobo xiaoshuo* 郭沫若: 漂泊小說 (Guo Moruo: wandering short stories), 16–52. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.

———. [1946] 1982–1992. "Lun Yu Dafu" 論郁達夫 (On Yu Dafu). In *Guo Moruo quanji wenxue bian juan 20* 郭沫若全集文學編卷20 (Complete works of Guo Moruo; literary works), vol. 20: 315–25. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo faxing.

Kuriyagawa, Hakuson 廚川白村. [1924] 2000. *Kumen de xiangzheng* 苦悶的象征 (The symbol of depression). Trans. Lu Xun. Taipei: Zhaoming chubanshe.

Lee, Leo Ou-fan 李歐梵. 1973. *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Liang Qichao 梁啟超. 1922 "Zhongguo yunwen litou suo biaoxiande qinggan" 中國韻文裡頭所表現的情感 (The expression of sentiment in Chinese rhyming texts). *Gaizao* 改造 (Reform) 4, no. 6 (February).

Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋. [1926] 1998. "Xiandai Zhongguo wenxue zhi langman de qushi" 現代中國文學之浪漫的趨勢 (Romantic tendencies in modern Chinese literature). In his *Langmande yu gudiande* 浪漫的與古典的 (Romanticist and classicist), 1–35. Taipei: Shuiniu chubanshe.

Liu, Hongtao 劉洪濤. 1997. *Hunan xiangtu wenxue yu Xiang-Chu wenhua* 湖南鄉土文學與湘楚文化 (The literature of the soil of Hunan and the Xiang-Chu culture). Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe.

Liu, Zaifu 劉再復. 1988. "Zhongguo xin shi caochuangqi de wenxue jingshen—Tan Hu Shi yu Guo Moruo" 中國新詩草創期的文學精神: 談胡適與郭沫若 (The literary spirit in the early stages of Chinese new poetry: about Hu Shi and Guo Moruo). In *Lun Zhongguo wenxue* 論中國文學 (About Chinese literature), 156–71. Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe.

Lu, Xun 魯迅. [1907a] 1981. "Moluo shi li shuo" 摩羅詩力說 (On the power of the poets of Mara). In *Complete Works of Lu Xun*, vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

———. [1907b] 1981. "Wenhua pianzhi lun" 文化偏至論 (On extremities in culture). In *Complete Works of Lu Xun*, vol. 1, 44–62.

———. 1981. *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (Complete works of Lu Xun). 16 vols.

Mao, Dun 茅盾. [1921] 1997. "Ping si, wu, liu yue de chuangzuo" 評四、五、六月的創作 (Opinion on creation for the months of April, May and June). In *Theoretical Material on Chinese Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2.

———. [1925] 2001. "Wenyi xiao cidian" 文藝小詞典 (Little dictionary of literature and the arts). In *Mao Dun quanji* 茅盾全集 (The complete works of Mao Dun), vol. 31, 347–95. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

———. [1929] 1996. "Du *Ni Huanzhi*" 讀《倪煥之》 (On reading *Ni Huanzhi*). *Wenxue zhoubao* 文学周报 (Literary weekly) 8, no. 20 (May 12). In Kirk A. Denton, ed. Yu-shih Chen, trans., *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893–1945*, 289–306. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. [1930] 1985. *Xiyang wenxue tonglun* 西洋文學通論 (General introduction to Western literature). Reprint. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe.

Michaut, Gustave. 1900. "Sur le romantisme: Une poignée de définitions" (On romanticism: a handful of definitions). *Revue des lettres françaises et étrangères* 2, no. 2, (April–June): 129–36.

Monsterleet, Jean. 1953. *Sommets de la littérature chinoise contemporaine* (Heights of contemporary Chinese literature). Paris: Domat.

Muschg, Walter. 1948. *Tragische Literaturgeschichte* (A tragic history of literature). Bern: A. Francke.

Ng, Mau-sang. 1988. *The Russian Hero in Modern Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Ni, Yide 倪貽德. 1923. "Huaying" 花影 (Shadows of flowers). *Creation Quarterly* 2, no. 2: 41–54.

Qin, Kangzong 秦亢宗 and Jiang Chengyu 蔣成瑀. 1986. *Xiandai zuojia he wenxue liupai* 現代作家和文學流派 (Modern writers and literary currents). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe.

Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白. [1920] 1997. "Eluosi mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo ji xu" 俄羅斯名家短篇小說集序 (Preface to Collection of short stories by great Russian writers). In *Theoretical Material on Chinese Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2.

Rabut, Isabelle, trans. 1996. *L'eau et les nuages: comment je crée des histoires et comment mes histoires me créent* (Water and clouds: how I created stories and how my stories created me). Paris: Bleu de Chine. Original by Shen Congwen under title *Shui yun* 水雲.

Shen, Yanbing 沈雁冰. [1920] 1997. "Xiaoshuo xinchao lan xuanyan" 小說新潮欄宣言 (Manifesto for the rubric of new currents of fiction). *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 (Fiction monthly) 11, no. 1 (January 25). In *Theoretical Material on Chinese Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2.

"Shubao jieshao" 書報介紹 (Book reviews). 1917. *New Youth* 3, no. 5 (July 1): 1.

Sieffert, René. 1973. *La Littérature japonaise*. Paris: Publications orientalistes de France.

Sun, Yixue 孫宜學. 2002. *Zhongwai langmanzhuyi wenxue daoyin* 中外浪漫主義文學導引 (Introduction to Chinese and foreign romantic literature). Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe.

Tian, Han 田漢. 1920a. "Shiren yu laodong wenti" 詩人與勞動問題 (Poetry and the question of labor). *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中國 (Young China) 1, no. 8 (February 15): 1–36.

———. 1920b. "Xin luomanzhuyi ji qita" 新羅曼主義及其他 (Neo-romanticism and others). *Young China* 1, no. 12: 24–52.

Tökei, Ferenc. 1967. *Naissance de l'élégie chinoise* (Birth of the Chinese elegy). Paris: Gallimard / "Les Essais."

Wang, Guowei 王國維. [1908] 1961. "Renjian cihua" 人間詞話 (Notes on *ci* poems in the human world). Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju.

Wang, Tongzhao 王統照. [1921] 1997. "*Renxin* yizhe fuji" 忍心譯者附記 (Note by the translator of An enduring heart). *Fiction Monthly* 12, no. 1 (January). In *Theoretical Material on Chinese Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, 101.

Wen, Rumin 溫儒敏. 1993. *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue piping shi* 中國現代文學批評史 (History of modern Chinese literary criticism). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.

Xia, Xiaohong 夏曉虹. 2006. *Yuedu Liang Qichao* 閱讀梁啟超 (Reading Liang Qichao). Beijing: Sanlian shudian.

Xiao, Tongqing 蕭同慶. 1996. "Shijimo guozhi: Zhongxi wenxue de jingshen yuhe" 世紀末果汁: 中西文學的精神遇合 (The essence of fin de siècle: spiritual encounters between Chinese and Western literatures). *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 (Literary review) 6: 46–56.

Xiao, Xia 肖霞. 2003. *Langmanzhuyi: Riben zhi qiao yu "Wusi" Wenxue* 浪漫主義:日本之橋與 "五四" 文學 (Romanticism: The Japanese bridge and the May Fourth literature). Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe.

Xu, Tanzheng 徐祖正. 1923. "Yingguo langmanpai san shiren: Bailun, Xuelai, Jici" 英國浪漫派三詩人: 拜輪, 雪萊, 箕茨 (Three romantic English poets: Byron, Shelley, Keats). *Creation Quarterly* 1, no. 4: 15–8.

Xu, Zhimo 徐志摩. [1928] 1997. "Tangmaishi Hadai" 湯麥士哈代 (Thomas Hardy). In *Shengming de xinyang: Xu Zhimo wenxuan* 生命的信仰: 徐志摩文選 (Faith in life: selected prose by Xu Zhimo), vol. 2, 563–72. Beijing: Guoji wenhua chuban gongsi.

Yan, Jiayan 嚴家炎. [1982] 2000. "Jiu langmanzhuyi da *Wenxue baiti* bianzhe wen" 就浪漫主義答《文學百題》編者問 (Reply to the editors of A hundred questions on literature about romanticism). In *Wusi de wudu: Yan Jiayan xueshu suibi zixuanji* 五四的誤讀 — 嚴家炎學術隨筆自選集 (An erroneous reading of May Fourth: academic essays of Yan Jiayan chosen by himself). Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe.

Yoshikawa, Yasuhisa. 2005. "Appropriation de la littérature française et formation du champ littéraire moderne au Japon" (Appropriation of French literature, and formation of the modern literary field in Japan). In *L'Aventure des lettres françaises en extrême Asie: Chine, Corée, Japon, Vietnam*, 80–92. Paris: You Feng.

Yu, Dafu 郁達夫. [1921] 1993. "Yinhuise de si 銀灰色的死 (Silvery death). In *Yu Dafu: Zixu xiaoshuo* 郁達夫:自敘小說 (*Yu Dafu: autobiographical short stories*), 1–17. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.

———. [1922] 1993. “Huaixiang bingzhe” 懷鄉病者 (The nostalgic one). In *Yu Dafu: Autobiographical Short Stories*, 113–9.

———. [1923] 1983. “*Chuangzaori* xuanyan” 創造日宣言 (Manifesto of Creation daily). July 21. In *Yu Dafu wenji* 郁達夫文集 (Works of Yu Dafu), vol. 7, 288–9. Hong Kong/Canton: Sanlian shudian/Huacheng chubanshe.

———. [1926] 1982. “Xiaoshuo lun” 小說論 (About fiction). In *Works of Yu Dafu*, vol. 5, 1–36.

———. [1927] 1983. “Wenxue gaishuo” 文學概說 (Outline of literature). In *Works of Yu Dafu*, vol. 5, 65–100.

Zheng, Boqi 鄭伯奇. [1935] 1999. “Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi: xiaoshuo sanji daoyan” 中國新文學大系一小說三集導言 (Introduction to panorama of the new Chinese literature: works of fiction), vol. 3. In *Shashang zuji* 沙上足跡 (Footstep traces on the sand). Reprint. Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe.

———. [1959] 1999. “Yi Chuangzao she” 憶創造社 (Memories of the Creation Society). In *Footstep Traces on the Sand.*

———. [1962] 1999. “Chuangzao she houqi de wenxue huodong” 創造社後期的文學活動 (The literary activities of the Creation Society in its final period). In *Footstep Traces on the Sand.*

Zhong, Mi 仲密 [Zhou Zuoren 周作人]. [1922] 1997. “*Chenlun*” 沉淪 (Sinking), *Chenbao fujuan* 晨報附鐫 (Morning Post supplement) (March 26). In *Theoretical Material on Chinese Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, 212–5.

Zhou, Zuoren 周作人. [1918] 1992. “Riben jin sanshi nian xiaoshuo zhi fada” 日本近三十年小說之發達 (On the development of Japanese fiction in the last thirty years). In Zhang Minggao 張明高 and Fan Qiao 范橋, eds., *Zhou Zuoren sanwen* 周作人散文 (Essays of Zhou Zuoren), vol. 3, 182–96. Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe.

———. [1920] 1992. “Xin wenxue de yaoqiu” 新文學的要求 (The demands of the new literature). In *Essays of Zhou Zuoren*, vol. 2, 136–40.

Zhu, Shoutong 朱壽桐. 2005. “Xintai, zitai yu qingtai: Lüelun Zhongguo xiandai langmanzhuyi wenxue de jiben xingtai yu fazhan zhuangtai” 心態, 姿態與情態:略論中國現代浪漫主義文學的基本形態與發展狀態 (Psychology, posture and attitude: essay on the principal aspects of modern Chinese romantic literature and its way of development). *Literary Review* 3: 99–106.

CHAPTER 8

Mapping a "New" Dramatic Canon: Rewriting the Legacy of Hong Shen

Xiaomei Chen

Known as one of the three founders of modern spoken drama (*huaju* 話劇), together with Tian Han 田漢 (1898–1968) and Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩 (1889–1962), Hong Shen 洪深 (1894–1955) has received much less attention than Tian in scholarship in English. Aside from a few articles published from the 1960s to the 1980s, Hong's low profile in Western scholarship might be a result of his hybrid career as a drama and film scriptwriter, a director, a critic, an educator, and a theater entrepreneur, which does not squarely fit into a disciplinary boundary. His death from lung cancer in 1955 also led to a shorter career and less impact on PRC theater than that of Tian, who wrote several majors plays and operas after 1949.[1]

Moreover, Tian's tragic death during the Cultural Revolution, when he was persecuted as a ringleader of the feudalist, bourgeois, and revisionist theater, generated interest in his life in the post-Maoist and post-socialist period, which brought about a few film, opera and theater productions of Tian's own life in the context of twentieth-century history.[2] In contrast, Hong has hardly appeared in the performance pieces of the new era. In a twenty-seven-part television drama series entitled *Guoge* 國歌 (National anthem), for example, Hong did not emerge as a dramatic character even though the series recorded major theatrical events in the 1930s. They included the staging of Tian Han's *Kamen* 卡門 (Carmen), in which Hong played a significant part as "the manager of the front stage" (*qiantai fuzeren* 前臺負責人); a biography of Tian Han, for example, noted how Hong spoke to foreigners in the audience in English and won their support to continue the performance after the censors had

1 For publications in English on Hong Shen, see Wu 1963; Meserve and Meserve 1979; and Galik 1986. For scholarship in English on Tian Han, see Haringova 1964; Tung 1967, 1968; Kaplan 1988; Lee 1983/84; McDougall 1974; Wagner 1990; and X. Chen 2006, 2008.

2 Tian Han is featured as a protagonist in a television drama series and in a film, both entitled *Guoge* 國歌 (National anthem), a biographical spoken drama entitled *Kuangliu* 狂流 (Torrent), premiered in 2000 in Beijing, and featured as a minor character in *Jianguo daye* 建國大業 (The founding of a republic), a blockbuster film of 2009.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_010

tried to stop the show (P. Liu 1998, 276). Nor was Hong depicted in the drama's numerous theatrical events related to the war mobilization efforts against the Japanese invaders, although other figures such as Xia Yan 夏衍, Yang Hansheng 陽翰笙, Zhou Xinfang 周信芳, and Tang Huaiqiu 唐槐秋 were represented in the series.

Although the PRC theater history credited him for his pioneering role, Hong's place in the dramatic history of modern China has never been investigated in the larger context of performance studies and of writing of theater history. This essay attempts to assess Hong's legacy by examining what has been neglected in the scholarship to map out a new drama history. I propose to read Hong's life and career as stories of theatricality in the broader sense of the word; by "theatricality," I refer to Thomas Postlewait's and Tracy D. Davis' understanding of it as "a mode of representation or a style of behavior characterized by historic actions, manners, and devices, and hence a practice ..." and as "an interpretative model for describing psychological identity, social ceremonies, communal festivities, and public spectacles, and hence a theatrical concept" (Davis and Postlewait 2003, 1). These elements can be found in the pivotal moments of Hong's life and career, which directly or indirectly affected the course of dramatic history.

With regard to Hong's place in history, various biographies and theater history surveys have agreed on a crucial moment: in April, 1928, three "founding fathers" of spoken drama met in a Western restaurant in Shanghai to bid farewell to Ouyang Yuqian, traveling to Guangdong. In their discussion about the state of modern theater, Hong suggested using the word *huaju* 話劇 (spoken drama) to replace the older terms such as *xinju* 新劇 (new drama), *wenming xi* 文明戲 (civilized drama), *aimeiju* 愛美劇 (amateur theater), and *feizhiye de xiju* 非職業的戲劇 (non-professional, or non-commercial theater) (L. Dong 1999, 86).[3] Tian Han and Ouyang Yuqian agreed, and *huaju* became the name of this increasingly popular genre.

This incident illustrates their collaborative efforts in the formation of spoken drama and their shared mission of reforming the traditional operatic theater rather than simply eliminating it as a residue of a backward feudalist culture. First to suggest using the word "*huaju*," however, Hong revealed his insight in emphasizing *hua* (spoken dialogue) as an essential feature borrowed from the traditions of Ibsen, Shakespeare, and other Western playwrights, while at the same time marking a critical difference from the practitioners of "new drama" or "civilized drama" who did not insist on the dialogue-only aspect

3 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

of modern theater despite their similar attempts to introduce elements of Western drama and modern Japanese theater to reform traditional operas.

Hong's naming of a new genre expressed his thorough understanding of American theater that shaped much of his multi-faceted identity as a modern Chinese dramatist in search of an aesthetic theater free from political and ideological constraints, although he was only partially successful, because of the unique cultural, social, and local circumstances of his times, as the rest of this essay will demonstrate. In this regard, Hong is different from Tian Han. I have discussed elsewhere Tian's legacy as a father of spoken drama and his combination of traditional Chinese operatic elements with that of modern Western theater. I argued that the diverse foreign influences on Tian in his earlier career formed a strong foundation in forming his multicultural and multi-ideological identities as a proletarian modernist, who combined socialist internationalism and feminist nationalism in his playwriting. Paradoxically, his fascination with Western writers gave him a greater appreciation of traditional Chinese operatic theater, with a view toward using it to articulate the core of his leftist perspective. In the larger scheme of things, Tian's proletarian drama was shaped by his encounter with Western modernism, which in turn provided a further impetus to continue to create an aesthetic theater in the forms of traditional opera and modern spoken drama (X. Chen 2006).

Unlike Tian, who *read* about Western modernist drama while studying in Japan from 1916 to 1922, Hong directly benefited from Western culture as the first Chinese overseas student to enroll as a graduate student in theater in the West in 1919, after three years of studying ceramics at Ohio State University beginning in 1916 (S. Hong [1936] 1957, 478–84). A student of Professor George Pierce Baker's famous drama class at Harvard University, known as "Workshop 47," Hong went through the same rigorous training that produced Eugene O'Neill, George Abbott, and Maurine Dallas Watkins in different classes. During his years in America, from 1916 to 1922, Hong wrote plays in English about Chinese people that involved arranged marriage, such as *The Wedded Husband* (*Wei zhi you shi* 為之有室) or their experience in World War I, such as *Rainbow* (*Hong* 虹), published articles introducing Chinese operatic theater to Western readers, and worked in theaters in Boston and New York to familiarize himself with every aspect of theater management, from make-up to advertising, ticket sales, accounting, ushering, and cloak room service (478–86). A passionate love affair with an American woman, who shared his zest for theater, further impacted Hong's Western experience. The racial discrimination he experienced as a Chinese living in America, in company with a blond American woman, however, also resulted in Hong's realistic understanding of a Western society with its own broken dreams (M. Chen and Song 1996, 51–70).

Hong thus formed a more balanced view of America than that of the early Tian Han, who, gazing from Japan, had blindly celebrated American liberalism, such as Walt Whitman's optimistic 'Americanism,' and his spirit of "democracy" on the occasion of the 100th anniversary (in 1919) of Whitman's birth. Tian's introduction of Whitman's "democratic spirit" (*minzhu zhuyi* 民主主義) came only four months after the famous introduction of the Western concepts of democracy and science by Chen Duxiu 陈獨秀 in January 1919. Tian's initial embrace of American liberalism and his attention to the national salvation issue led to a more radical ideological orientation on Tian's part than that of Hong, who attempted, until after 1930, to stay clear of political affairs. The national crisis resulting from Japan's invasion into China's interior in subsequent years turned Hong—and many other dramatists of his generation—to ally with the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) in their performing activities as war-mobilization efforts, even though Hong maintained his KMT membership, and utilized it to protect himself and his family from persecution by the ruling Nationalist government.

Hong and Tian thus differed when they started their playwriting careers: more rooted in the rich soil of Chinese traditional operas, Tian, at age fifteen, wrote his first drama script as a Bejing opera, entitled *Xin jiao zi* 新教子 (*New story of educating a son*), in which Tian explored the traditional Chinese ethics of a chaste widow, who urged her young son to follow his father's footsteps in giving his life to defend his country (X. Chen 2006, 186–96). Hong, on the contrary, is known for his early play entitled *Zhao Yanwang* 趙閻王 (Yama Zhao), written at age twenty-nine in 1922, in imitation of the expressionist style of *Emperor Jones* by Eugene O'Neill. Influenced by O'Neill's episodic structures, "stream of consciousness," and psychological drama, Hong depicted the title protagonist as a depressed soldier who hallucinated about talking to various characters in his past and present life, while escaping from his captors. Hong's innovative directing and the passionate acting of the protagonist, however, did not prevent a lukewarm reception; his contemporary audiences in Shanghai found his experimental Western theater too foreign and alienating for their taste. However, Hong won over his Shanghai audience two years later, in 1924, with his successful adaptation of Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan* (*Shao nainai de shanzi* 少奶奶的扇子), which transposed the English comedy into the milieu of upper-class Shanghai, and established him as a new authority in scripting, directing, and managing Western-style spoken drama.

Hong's shifts, from an experimental Western theater to a realist theater adapted to Chinese society, and from a lonely dramatist in search of a theater to a leader of a collective group of artists during the war of resistance against Japanese invaders, are familiar highlights in the PRC's drama history.

I argue that while these depictions are valid narratives, we need to emphasize other factors in order to do justice to the rich and complex legacy of Hong. Most important, Hong expressed a different psychological identity from the other two founding fathers: whereas Ouyang Yuqian scripted spoken drama by adeptly borrowing from Beijing opera, in which he was also known for his acting, Tian Han combined Western modernist and realist theater with his own brand of proletarian drama characterized by his concerns with feminist and nationalist issues. Hong, by contrast, did not abandon his Western theater training to fully embrace the left-leaning trend and its appeal to the revolutionary agendas until his later years.

Indeed, Hong resisted "turning left" partly because of the trauma he had suffered from the execution of his father, an official working in Yuan Shikai's 袁世凱 government, implicated as a scapegoat in the assassination of Song Jiaoren 宋教仁, when Yuan deemed Song as a threat to his political ambitions. In 1919, during the Russian Revolution, which inspired many young students and intellectuals, Hong, alone in America, was heartbroken when he read his father's will; he vowed never to get involved with politics, and switched his major to theater as his salvation in a dangerous life (M. Chen 1993, 11).

Despite his leadership in theater during the war, Hong's frustration in his theater career and personal life resulted in a deep depression that led to his attempted suicide on September 5, 1941, together with his wife and daughter (Ming 1941). PRC histories and biographies blamed the KMT's military ambush of the CCP-led New Fourth Army (*Xin sijun* 新四軍) in southern Anhui, known as the "Wannan Incident" (*Wannan shibian* 皖南事變), in spite of their alliance, and the KMT's failure to support "starving artists" as key factors which had triggered his suicide attempt. According to a few PRC histories, Zhou Enlai 周恩來 quickly lent support—moral and financial—to Hong and his family, who reportedly drew strength from Zhou's caring spirit (M. Chen and Song 1996, 287–92). I would like to emphasize Hong's complex identity as "a mode of representation": he had struggled since his father's death to distance himself from the KMT, but could not decline its invitation to become a member, thanks to his father's prior association. In his life-long pursuit of a popular theater, he was drawn to the left-wing dramatists and their popular theater productions, and reluctantly became a key player in the CCP-led drama movement, a dilemma that demanded multiple role-playing in complex circumstances.

Hong Qian (洪钤), Hong's daughter, provided evidence of this in a 2010 online article on the fifty-fifth anniversary of his death. In defense of her father against contemporary critics' "over-dramatization" (*xishuo* 戲說), "misunderstanding" (*wushuo* 誤說), or "distortion" (*chouhua* 醜化), Hong Qian claimed

that a former close friend of her father informed her in the 1980s that his suicide attempt in 1941 was triggered by his profound disappointment in the CCP, which had made a list of the leftist artists and writers to evacuate from Chongqing because of possible KMT persecution after the Wannan Incident. In spite of his leadership in left-wing drama activities, Hong was left off the list and painfully realized that "they do not trust me!" He found himself at "an impasse" and sank into despair. In the same essay, Hong Qian described her father's life-long wish to be a scholar, not a politician, his reluctant acceptance of official posts because of the extraordinary circumstances in wartime China, and his dying wish for his two daughters to pursue careers in science or engineering rather than in the humanities and arts. By 1945, at the onset of civil war between the KMT and CCP, China had evolved into a nation that "left no independent space for cultural figures to develop according to their own values and dreams" (Q. Hong 2010).

In spite of his daughter's defense, the legacy of Hong will likely continue in the PRC as a founding father of a realist theater most useful for political propaganda. In the twenty-first century, for example, Hong is even blamed for having initiated and promoted a "utilitarian concept of theater" (*gongli zhuyi de xiju sixiang* 功利主義的戲劇思想), which used to dominate the PRC stage and eventually led to the ultra-leftist model theater of the Cultural Revolution (Song 2004). Others objected, in the same vein as Hong's daughter, that labeling Hong as the original contributor to "a dramatic theory characterized by a vulgar sociology" (*yongsu shehui xue de xiju piping* 庸俗社會學的戲劇批評) was unfair and arbitrary without treating Hong's theory and practice in their entirety and in the context of the particular historical circumstances that had produced them. Distortion of Hong's concept of theater, therefore, will result in a misunderstanding and rejection of the realist tradition of spoken drama in the twentieth century and the Western tradition that inspired it (Gu 2011).

Both sides, in my view, failed to note that Hong's rich and multi-faceted thoughts on theater practice defy easy classification either in terms of "isms" or "schools" and cannot be simply interpreted as either politically or artistically oriented. In fact, Hong's legacy can be better acknowledged as illustrating a performative process, in which he formed his own subject positions in response to his understanding of the prevailing ideology; Hong therefore allowed his dramatic characters to behave in socially acceptable ways while exploring their multi-voiceness to destabilize the prevailing ideology. In Hong's so-called "masterpiece" entitled *Wukui qiao* 五奎橋 (Wukui bridge), for example, a confrontation between rich gentry and poor peasants provided a dramatic conflict between two powerful oppositional forces that defied reconciliation. This is similar to the spirit of the Greek tragedy *Antigone*, in which Antigone's will to

bury Polyneices, her brother, to fulfill her duty as a sister, battles against the equally persuasive resolve of Creon, the King of the land, to observe the law of the state not to honor a traitor (Polyneices). By the same token, a group of poor villagers are determined to demolish the Wukui Bridge to clear the way for a boat, which carries a Western-made pump to provide desperately needed water for their rice fields during a severe drought, against the stubborn obstruction of Mr. Zhou, a rich member of the gentry whose ancestors had built the bridge in an effort to protect the "*fengshui*" (風水) of his land and the local community. Hong's interest in structuring dramatic conflicts between various characters in a "well-made play" (*jiagou ju* 佳構劇) perhaps played a more significant role than his so-called class consciousness. This at least partially explains why almost all of Hong's plays, and some of his best film scripts, can be reinterpreted as carrying a political theme of irreconcilable struggle between the rich and the poor, as seen in his *Wukui Bridge*, despite the fact that Hong once used *Wukui Bridge* as an example to illustrate his writing process: only after painstaking effort in "structuring" and "revising" the script four times was he able to finish *Wukui Bridge* (S. Hong [1936] 1957, 479–80).

A classic dramatic conflict ingeniously combined Hong's pursuit of an aesthetic theater with his newly discovered concept of "class struggle." Seen in this light, one could interpret the dramatic conflict in *Wukui Bridge* in light of the CCP ideological framework, as has been narrated in the PRC history. On the one hand, however, one could also take seriously Mr. Zhou's critique of "Western things" (*yang dongxi* 洋東西) as detrimental to the preservation of the traditional way of life; if the Western-made machine can do all the work for us, Mr. Zhou argues, young folks would have nothing better to do in their spare time except gambling and playing cards (S. Hong [1930] 1957, 221–2). This anti-imperialist sentiment fit into Hong's warning in his *Yama Zhao*, which blamed Western imperialist powers for the destruction of Zhao's rural life, once peaceful as a self-contained community.

This could help us explain Hong's self-mockery of his plays as the results of "hard labor which cannot please anybody" (*chili bu taohao* 吃力不討好): his left-leaning plays were considered as not "progressive" enough for the CCP critics, nor were they politically correct enough for the KMT authority. In fact, Hong's negotiation between oppositional ideologies and between art and politics found its way into his survey of wartime drama from 1937 to 1947 (S. Hong 1948). Characterizing the war period as a golden age in the development of spoken drama, Hong recorded numerous experiences of troupes traveling to the war fronts and to the interior areas, and documented their popular performance pieces and their innovations in theater practice such as scripting, acting, stage design, make-up, and music, as reflected in the journal and book

publications. Subsequent PRC histories referred to Hong's account of how spoken drama found the war front an extended stage for performing artists together with Tian Han's depiction in his poem:

> Four hundred million actors and actresses (*yanyuan siyi ren* 演員四億人)
> Ten thousand *li*s of war front (*zhanxian yiwan li* 戰線一萬里)
> The world is the audience (*quanqiu zuo guanzhong* 全球作觀眾)
> Watch our magnificent play (*kan wo da xiju* 看我大戲劇) (H. Huang 1990, 206)

While emphasizing theater's unique opportunity in wartime, however, Hong paid equal attention to the aesthetic values of theater, especially mining the rich potential in traditional Chinese opera. Acknowledging the war period as a perfect opportunity to modernize, Hong illustrated how the artists in the Guangdong opera (*yueju* 粵劇), the Hebei opera (*pingju* 平劇), and the Hubei opera (*chuju* 楚劇) revised the old tales of patriotic heroes to rally the masses against foreign invaders. In an essay published in 1945, Hong even argued for the useful function of "ghost plays" (*guixi* 鬼戲), which had often been targeted as having represented the worst elements of backward traditional culture; Hong explained that Shakespeare employed a ghost character in *Hamlet* and featured his dead father as an artistic device in aiding the distressed protagonist (S. Hong [1945] 1957, 309). Hong's effort to rescue *guixi* from extinction would have caused him painful persecution if he had lived beyond 1955; the ensuing radical campaign against "*guixi*" even before the start of the Cultural Revolution damaged Tian Han's career, and Hong's membership in the KMT before 1949 would have landed him in an even worse position than that of Tian if he had lived through the radical Maoist years.

In addition to moving beyond the usual divides between modern and traditional, and spoken drama and old opera, Hong's survey of wartime drama also crossed the strict boundary between the KMT/CCP along political lines. In the above-mentioned 1948 essay on wartime drama, he praised the local opera that successfully staged the heroic sacrifice of KMT military commanders, thus celebrating the major role of KMT troops in the defense of the nation, which was frequently dismissed in the PRC narratives that invariably depicted the KMT as defeatist or even as a Japanese collaborator, in history books and in literary and theatrical representations.

By the same token, Hong revealed his knowledge in the "*yangge*" 秧歌 (rice sprout song) movement in the CCP-occupied Yan'an, at once affirming its ideological appeal for rural laboring people and its entertainment value, once

love stories had been inserted in the otherwise "dry and tedious" representations of "the collective life of the army" (S. Hong [1948] 1957, 190–3). Hong's emphasis on this folkloric dance that "served the soldiers (*wei bing* 為兵) and the peasants (*wei nong* 為農)" preceded the PRC theater that focused on "workers, peasants, and soldiers" (*gong-nong-bing xiju* 工農兵戲劇) to the exclusion of others, therefore extending the importance of Yan'an performance as the model for the socialist drama even before the founding of the PRC. Seen in this light, Hong cannot be assessed as merely a political playwright; his multi-voices open up to a balanced view of art and politics even at a time of national crisis.

The Place of Hong Shen's First "History" in Later Histories: Beyond Canonicity?

I have so far examined how Hong's life and career were indeed more complex than those of merely a leftist playwright, and argued for the need to study his legend as primarily a dramatist in search of an aesthetic theater at all costs. Ironically, the approach to reading Hong's life as a successful playwright rooted in the politics of his times was initiated by Hong himself. As professor of English, literature, and theater in various universities in China, such as Fudan University (復旦大學), Jinan University (暨南大學), Shandong University (山東大學), Qingdao University (青島大學), and elsewhere, Hong wrote numerous scholarly essays and drama reviews to promote theater education and to support his family with meager royalties. In contrast to Tian Han, who was criticized for his sloppiness in scholarship and lapses in memory, which had resulted in conflicting dates and inaccurate facts, Hong's "Introduction" (S. Hong 1935) to the well-known *Compendium of Modern Chinese Literature—Drama Volume*, published in 1935, is deemed as a pioneering work that shaped subsequent histories of modern drama. As one of the ten volumes under the chief editorship of Zhao Jiabi 趙家壁 on the first ten years of China's "new literature movement" (*Zhongguo xin wenxue yundong* 中國新文學運動) from 1917 to 1927, Hong's edited drama volume included the first canon of spoken drama from eighteen playwrights, many of which have been reprinted in subsequent compendia and anthologies. Hong therefore initiated the writing of the history of spoken drama with his first "Introduction" to the field, which has been often cited in later histories.

Hong's introduction to his drama volume has two major differences from other introductions in the same series. First, his introduction is extremely long, with 123 pages, in comparison with Zhu Ziqing's 朱自清 introduction

of 16 pages to poetry, Mao Dun's 茅盾 preface of 40 pages to fiction, part I; Lu Xun's 魯迅 preface of 18 pages to fiction, part II; Zheng Boqi's 鄭伯奇 preface of 40 pages to fiction, part III; Zhou Zuoren's 周作人 preface of 18 pages to prose, part I; and Yu Dafu's 郁達夫 preface of 23 pages to prose, part II.[4] Most important, Hong's introduction offered a systematic reading of spoken drama in the context of the debates on its place in the modern world, its relationship to Chinese and Western traditions, and its balanced task of "popularizing and advancing" (*puji yu tigao* 普及與提高) the art of theater, which Mao Zedong eventually addressed in his "Talk at Yan'an Forum of Literature and Art" in 1942, and claimed as a guiding principle of socialist art after 1949. More multifaceted than Mao's criteria for literature and art, however, Hong argued for a place in history for Hu Shi's 胡適 concept of theater as a tool "in spreading ideas" (*chuanbo sixiang* 傳播思想), "organizing society" (*zuzhi shehui* 組織社會), and "improving life" (*gaishan rensheng* 改善人生). Hong defended Hu's advocacy for individualism, inspired by Ibsen's plays, expressed in such statements as "Striving for individual freedom is the same as striving for the freedom of one's country," which had been criticized by some of Hu's May Fourth peers and subsequently critiqued as bourgeois individualism in Maoist China (S. Hong 1935, 20). Hong also paid equal attention to the aesthetic orientation of spoken drama and its ideological functions, a balanced view that disappeared in Mao's Yan'an talk. Post-Mao and post-socialist theater histories have finally redeemed Hu's pioneering role in advocating individualism in the early stage of spoken drama and thus returned to Hong's original assessment of Hu.

Secondly, in contrast to Mao Dun's and Lu Xun's introductions, which either started with *New Youth*'s initiation of a literary revolution in 1917, or with the evolution and style of a particular genre in question, Hong's introduction started with a lengthy history of the May Fourth movement in its historical and cultural contexts. Hong's delineation of China's domestic politics from the late Qing to the betrayal of China in the Treaty of Versailles by the imperialist powers is strikingly similar to the subsequent historical narratives of the CCP, which almost always singled out the opium wars as the beginning of China's semi-colonialist period. Five pages into his introduction, Hong had barely begun his lengthy discussion of China's corruption as the key reason that "new culture movements" were looking for national salvation, with extended quotations from Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, and others. It was not until twelve pages later that Hong began to discuss Liang Qichao's 梁啓超 exile in Japan, his call to

4 This page number comparison is based on the collection of prefaces compiled in Cai, 1940.

write fiction and drama in the vernacular language, and his contemporaries' efforts in reforming traditional opera (S. Hong 1935).

Why did Hong start his introduction with a heavily historical and ideological perspective? Existing scholarship in the PRC recorded that Hong drafted his introduction by

> exerting himself to apply Marxist theory of literature and art in order to explain the history of the first ten years of Chinese spoken drama from the rise of the new culture movement to 1926, with a rather scientific method of a materialistic view of history. (M. Chen 1993, 62)

This assessment, brief as it was, validated a popular view of Hong turning left after 1930 when he joined the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers. It fits perfectly with the official PRC view of literary history, which has interpreted the leftist trend as the highest achievement of the Republican period.

A closer examination of Hong's artistic networks, however, reveals that Hong's persistent search for a modern stage was an equally important factor in his alliance with new drama troupes and with artists of either CCP or KMT affiliations. Before he "turned left" Hong had already been impressed by Tian Han's Southern Drama Society (*Nanguo she* 南國社), which popularized spoken drama in cities at an ebb of its movement, and his establishment of an art institution and drama festivals to forge a social network of artists. The warm reception of Tian's play allowed Hong to "realize that the kind of drama he had searched for in the past could indeed be found in the theater of Tian," since his plays appealed not just to urban elites, but also to students and common people, who warmly responded to the performances of the Southern Drama Society (Chen and Song 1996, 105).

His subsequent act of joining the leftist theater after 1930 was, to a large extent, a result of being drawn to Tian's social networks and drama festivals, which were more appealing than his lonely search for an aesthetic theater. Even in the case of Tian, it was not a straightforward story of switching his political alliance to the CCP, as PRC histories have claimed. As I have examined elsewhere, there were complex reasons behind Tian's "turning left" in 1930: his being left behind by his own talented students who had by then deserted his "art-for-art" orientation in pursuit of "art for the poor people" and his passionate love for, and extramarital affair, with An Er 安娥, a staunch underground member of the CCP, who had returned from the Soviet Union as a well-known journalist, or his "red Salomé." All these contributed to Tian's final conversion to the CCP, in addition to the changing tides of political and ideological fields, which led numerous writers to "turn-left" (X. Chen 2006, 270).

A shared quest for a dynamic theater motivated Hong to join Tian in search of an audience. For this reason, when Tian tried to persuade Hong to join the Left-Wing League in 1930, he first introduced Hong to A. Ying 阿英, a renowned playwright and film critic Hong had long wished to meet, thus bringing together fellow artists who had admired each other's work. While Hong "protested" that he was a member of the KMT, A. Ying, an underground member of the CCP, reassured him that the Left-Wing League transcended party boundaries and was an organization of progressive writers, which Hong could identify with. Only when Tian mentioned that Xia Yan, a playwright and critic Hong appreciated, had already joined the league, did Hong finally agree to follow suit, without knowing that Xia, too, was an underground member, and in fact, a key leader of the CCP art and literature circle.

Clearly Hong wanted to associate with the best theater artists to the extent of forgetting the consequences of political involvement. As for the double identities of A Ying and Xia Yan as famous playwrights and as CCP members, artistic credentials weighed more heavily than political identities in convincing Hong to turn left. It was therefore not surprising that Hong relented in March 1930, after his residence was searched by the KMT. On April 3, 1931, Hong complained to Ma Yanxiang 馬彥祥 about Ma's article that depicted Hong as a "socialist" (M. Chen 1993, 42–3). Hong wanted to be left alone without being classified along political and ideological lines.

So far, I have shown that Hong's cautious stance between opposing political camps made him an unlikely candidate to write an openly Marxist critique of the history of modern drama. I believe Hong's introduction expressed, perhaps subconsciously, his view of modern drama as a performative and interdisciplinary art, which could not be meaningfully talked about until he explored historical, cultural, and political contexts and nuances. The same can be said of poetry, fiction, prose, and other genres. Drama, nevertheless, depends on direct interaction with audiences, who decide what kind of drama will survive. If no one buys a ticket, a show cannot go on. Moreover, as a playwright, director, actor, stage designer, critic, theorist, and educator all in one, Hong seemed to have been unable to write a history of drama until he explored drama's other aspects and impact. This is not to discount his "adopting a Marxist view," but I consider it a *result* of Hong's encounter with a convenient historical and cultural framework in outlining drama history, which coincided with his multi-disciplinary view of theater, rather than being dominated by a Marxist approach.

The popularity of a Marxist view of literary history in the early decades of the twentieth century also accounted for Hong's own effort in re-interpreting his earlier plays before his American education. In his essay, originally written

in 1928 and included in his *Hong Shen xiqu ji* 洪深戲曲集 (A collection of Hong Shen's plays), published in 1937, Hong quoted a line from his *Pinmin canju* 貧民慘劇 (A tragedy of the poor), written in 1916: "Dad! Everyone in the world are equal human beings, but why do some ride in the cart while some pull the cart with hard labor?" Recalling his writing these lines thirteen years earlier as a student of Qinghua School 清華學校, Hong now, in retrospect, wondered what Lenin was writing about, at the same time in a small room in Switzerland in exile, for his own newspaper on world affairs and Russian politics (S. Hong [1928] 1957, 453). Having been exposed to a Marxist approach in seeing literature as a reflection of history, Hong *injected* into his early play a class-struggle theme, which in 1916 he was neither consciously aware of, nor able to articulate.

Indeed, Hong's introduction was ahead of its time in other aspects. In the first place, well-versed in both traditional opera and spoken drama, Hong discussed the cross-genre practice of traditional opera (*xiqu* 戲曲), reformed old opera (*jiuxi gailiang* 舊戲改良), new drama (*xinxi* 新戲 or *wenming xi* 文明戲), and spoken drama as an integrated history. Later histories often discussed opera and spoken drama as separate genres, despite occasional background information on debates about whether traditional opera should be preserved as a Chinese cultural "essence."

Secondly, while covering all of these sub-genres, Hong included both the history of "drama," which usually refers to dramatic texts, and the history of "theater"' which involves all aspects of performance that transform a dramatic text to a stage production. Or in Chinese terms, Hong covered "the first creation of dramatic script" (*yidu chuangzuo* 一度創作), "the second creation" (*erdu chuangzuo* 二度創作), referring to directing, stage and costume design, lighting, and stage management, and "the third creation" (*sandou chuangzuo* 三度創作), referring to audience reception and their re-creation of the meanings of a play offstage. Subsequent spoken drama histories after Hong tend to focus more on the "first creation" of dramatic texts, and to a lesser degree, on the "second creation,", or performance aspect, while short-changing the "third creation," in audience response, or reception studies. Hong nevertheless delineated the importance of audiences in his "Introduction," for example, in narrating Chen Dabei's 陳大悲 "three requirements to his audiences," announced in 1923: Chen asked his audiences to "shoulder their own responsibilities" in "creating a new theater" by, firstly, holding applause until the end of each act; secondly, not talking in loud voices that might drown the dialogue on stage; and thirdly, sending us your feedback about performances (S. Hong 1935, 30–1).

Third, Hong explored dramatic texts, performances, theater troupes, drama journals, artistic networks, and drama schools, without losing sight of theoretical

issues. For instance, Hong analyzed and applauded Chen Dabei's theory of promoting an "amateur theater" in the 1920s to free theater from its search for profits. Whereas Chen's theory "suits the remedy to the case" (*dui zheng xia yao* 對証下藥) at a time when commercialism had eroded theater, Hong believed that this approach was impractical since no matter how "amateur," or anti-commercial, a theater wanted to be, it would still require financial resources to produce a show and to provide a living wage for its members. Without money, it would be difficult to organize a troupe, let alone sustain it in the long run. "Amateur theater," therefore, could not become a free art without being somehow controlled by the subsidies of the capitalists (S. Hong 1935, 32–3). Hong's view rings especially pertinent eighty years later in contemporary China, where, once removed from state subsidies, theater troupes had no choice but to succumb to commercial culture in order to survive. As a public art that involves live audiences, theater can never become a free agent, either in ideological, or financial, or artistic terms.

Although later historians cited Hong's account of "amateur theater," they mostly used it to delineate a coherent history—as Hong himself admittedly also did—while neglecting an even-handed treatment in theory. One exception is Jiao Shangzhi's 焦尚志 erudite monograph entitled *Zhongguo xiandai xiju meixue sixiang fazhan shi* 中國現代戲劇美學思想發展史 (History of the development of aesthetics in modern Chinese drama) (Jiao 1995), which examined aesthetic theories of spoken drama. His ontological approach to dramatic forms, however, focuses more on the textual than the social and interactive aspects of theater. Drama histories in post-socialist China, therefore, have not substantially surpassed Hong's introduction in methodology, approach, or interdisciplinary coverage. Hong's introduction, therefore, would fall into Lydia Liu's assessment that

> Since publication of the *Compendium*, later works have expanded its contents and updated them to accommodate new developments in modern literary history after 1927, but the conceptual paradigm of the *Compendium*—periodization, genre, and so on—has hardly changed in subsequent literary histories . . . (L. Liu 1995, 230)

By the same token, most of the later histories focused on dramatic texts and author studies without exploring how performative acts restructured our knowledge and affected the representation of drama, broadly defined.

A typical example is Chen Baichen 陳白塵 and Dong Jian's 董健 groundbreaking *Zhongguo xiandai xiju shigao* 中國現代戲劇史稿 (A draft history of modern Chinese drama) (B. Chen and Dong 1989). As the first comprehensive

history of modern drama from the PRC, Chen and Dong's *Draft History* demonstrated a tremendous knowledge and mastery of materials, covering as many as forty-seven playwrights and their representative works as highlighted in the table of contents, not to mention many other playwrights discussed in the entire book. I agree with Huang Xiuji 黃修幾 that it marks a significant contribution as a literary history of the spoken drama (*huaju wenxue shi* 話劇文學史), without traditional and contemporary operas, and would therefore be better entitled *Draft History of Spoken Drama* (X. Huang 1995, 320). Folk operas such as *Baimao nü* 白毛女 (The white-haired girl) for example, received mention only in the context of the Yan'an period as an example of Mao's principles of literature and art. An overarching political and ideological framework, therefore, affected Chen's and Dong's *Draft History* and limited their choices to a few operas.

Chen's and Dong's *Draft History* represents an overall tendency in teaching Chinese literature, which gives more prominence to a coherent literary history than to other aspects, such as theory. Dong Naibin 董乃斌 and others delineated how, since its beginning, the writing of Chinese literary history developed in tandem with the establishment of university curricula in modern China. Teaching literary history became more accepted between 1910 and 1930 since the Ministry of Education of the Republican government perceived in the teaching of literary history an effective narrative of the origin and heritage of the nation to promote patriotic sentiments. This trend continued in the PRC period, when many universities made literary history a mandatory course, whereas classes on other genres mostly remained as selective courses (N. Dong, Chen, and Liu 2003, 78–82). Drama, therefore, appeared only when it supported the general scheme of literary history, or fell through the cracks of university curricula and shifted to specialized drama schools. When taught as a course, the syllabus covered mostly master playwrights such as Cao Yu 曹禺, Xia Yan and Guo Moruo 郭沫若, all known for the literary qualities of their dramatic texts.

So far, I have discussed drama and its absence in general literary histories. What happened to drama when scholars surveyed a history of the writing of literary histories? Huang Xiuji, in his *Zhongguo xin wenxie shi bianzuan shi* 中國新文學史編纂史 (A history of composing Chinese new literary histories), provides a succinct and pertinent critique of the contributions of Chen's and Dong's *A Draft History* (X. Huang 1995). One wonders, however, why Huang neglected to mention Ge Yihong's 葛一虹 *Zhongguo huaju tong shi* 中國話劇通史 (A survey history of Chinese drama) (Ge 1990) and other contributions. Surely, a comprehensive history needs to be selective in choosing its objects of study, but eleven pages about the writing of drama history in a book of 565

pages still reflects the marginal position of drama in a history of writing about literary histories.

Furthermore, in Huang's *A History of Composing Chinese New Literary Histories*, he did not designate a separate entry for the writing of drama history before 1949. If Wang Guowei's 王國维 pioneering *Song Yuan xiqu shi* 宋元戲曲史 (A history of Song-Yuan drama) (Wang [1912?] 1995) does not count, since it deals with drama before the new literature period, then one cannot skip Xu Muyun's 徐慕雲 *Zhongguo xiju shi* 中國戲劇史 (A history of Chinese drama) published in 1938 (Xu 1938). Indeed, Xu's history remained obscure even to critics of his time since it was published in the middle of the war when very few people cared about drama scholarship. Xu's history also suffered from its introduction, written by Chu Minyi 褚民誼, who later became a Japanese collaborator when he served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Wang Jingwei's 汪精衛 government in 1940, and as a result, was executed as an "arch collaborator" (*da hanjian* 大漢奸) in 1946. Xu's history was actually the earliest book-length study of Chinese drama in the true sense of the word, because it included Beijing opera, regional operas, and spoken drama. Unlike Hong's introduction, Xu's history covered almost no literary texts, but concentrated exclusively on performing arts such as singing, dancing, acting, costume, makeup, and so on. The publication and reception of Xu's drama history, nevertheless, did not fit into the grand narrative of the wartime period as the "golden age of Chinese drama" thanks to the close relationship between political mobilization and mass audience.

Not only did literary and dramatic histories repeat this narrative; the history of the writing of literary histories, in a similar fashion, did not favor a story written by Xu. Seen from this perspective, wartime circumstances also suppressed, rather than promoted, the development of drama studies, whose approach ran counter to the master narrative of war history and advocated "pure art." In other parts of his history, however, Huang occasionally mentioned drama, yet it was again submerged in the predominant genres of fiction, poetry, and literary criticism.

A Legend Beyond "History" and "Theater"?

Are there new ways of writing and teaching modern drama? Could we write a comprehensive and interdisciplinary history that would do justice to its richness? Our Hong Shen story points to at least one possible way of mapping out a new history. One might start with some of the "firsts" of Hong's achievements beyond theater in order to emphasize the scope of an interdisciplinary inquiry. Hong straddled the theater and film industries: he was the first to write a film

script, entitled *Shentu Shi* 申屠氏 (The lady of Shentu) in 1925. Previously, the film industry had followed the convention in "civilized drama" of improvisation with plot outlines, known as *mubiao xi* 幕表戲. Hong scripted the first "talking film" in China, entitled *Genü hong mudan* 歌女紅牡丹(Red peony singer), released in Shanghai in 1931. He also wrote the first radio play in Shanghai in 1936, a new media that reached a broader audience beyond theater (Yan and Sun 1986, 137–8). Examining his legend as a multi-genre script writer, a theorist, a manager, a fund-raiser, a political activist, a wartime troupe organizer, a university professor, an administrator, and a journal editor will help emphasize the interdisciplinary—or perhaps even anti-disciplinary—implications of performance culture, broadly defined.

Most important, one could examine the presence of theatrical or performative elements in other activities and discuss Hong's talents in playing the "right" part in everyday life that changed drama history. In 1923, for example, Pu Boying 蒲伯英 and Chen Dabei attempted, without success, to promote "amateur" theater by using dramatic scripts for the first time in order to eliminate improvisatory *mubiao xi*. They invited Hong, a newly-minted expert in theater from America, to join their Shanghai Drama Association (*Shanghai xiju xieshe* 上海戲劇協社) to modernize all aspects in theater production, such as stage design, lighting, make-up, and management. Acting as a Western-style director for the first time in Chinese history, Hong demanded punctual arrival of all actors and repeatedly rehearsed with each actor—no matter how famous he was—to correct their movements, gestures, and stage line delivery until he got it right; Hong aimed at adopting a natural and realist style at a time when theater was still dominated by actors.

Hong met the most stubborn resistance, however, when he attempted to introduce female actors to play female roles, thanks to the ancient cross-dressing tradition, in which male performers (*nan dan* 男旦) played female roles, because women were discouraged from appearing on public stage; even 'civilized drama' between 1910 and 1930 inherited this practice despite various efforts in reforming traditional theater. To overcome this obstacle, Hong turned himself into an actor: he schemed the staging of Hu Shi's *Zhongshen dashi* 終身大事 (The main event in one's life), with young actresses playing female roles, as the first play in the program, and *Pofu* 潑婦 (A shrew), with seasoned male actors playing female roles, as the last play after intermission, thinking that well-established male actors appearing in the last play would surely bring out more applause from the audiences at the curtain call. Surprisingly, the audience responded enthusiastically to the fresh and true-to-life acting by young actresses in the first play, but were turned off by the unnatural manners of the cross-dressing actors in the second play, now set in sharp contrast with the first. Hong transformed the audience as part of his "directing

crew" to educate the cast about the urgent need for theater reform, therefore effectively ending an outdated practice while establishing himself as the new authority in modern theater.

Hong brought about a turning point in modern history: drama and gender studies scholars have credited Hu Shi's *The Main Event of One's Life* as the quintessential play of "Nora walking out of her patriarchal home" in imitation of Ibsen's *A Doll House*, and Hu's introduction of "Ibsenism" in 1919 as a significant event in women's liberation during the May Fourth movement (Meng and Dai 1989; X. Chen 2010, 4, 8–18). No one, however, has examined Hong's efforts in visualizing Hu's vision of women's liberation in a modern production which *doubled* the dramatic effect of Hu's script: whereas Hu's plot challenged a patriarchal tradition which had trapped women in real life in an arranged marriage, Hong's stage production opened up a performance space for women to act for themselves and to speak in their own voices. Hong ensured that Hu's Ibsenesque play was staged in a style true to its realist theme. On the larger stage of the May Fourth cultural politics, therefore, Hong played his own role in enlightening the Chinese audiences about a patriarchal culture and its embedded theater practice.

Whereas 1923 marked a year in which Hong changed theater history in gender politics, 1930 stood out as a time when Hong acted the "right" part on the national and international stage, when he protested Harold Lloyd's 1929 film *Welcome Danger* (*Bu pa si* 不怕死) upon its release in the Grand Theater in Shanghai (*Da guangming xiyuan* 大光明戲院). Deeply offended by its humiliating portrayal of "ugly" Chinese such as drug dealers and gamblers in a crime-ridden Chinatown in San Francisco, Hong walked onto the stage, on February 22, right before the start of the film, delivered an impassioned speech against the film's distortion of the Chinese people, and called on the audiences to boycott this imperialist and racist film. His subsequent arrest by the police, and his colleagues' demand for his release led to more drama in public, when leaders and activists in art, theater, film, education, government offices, and other mass organizations demanded a banning of the film (L. Dong 1999, 100–6). In a second act of performance in a court hearing, Hong found a perfect stage where he did not need to worry about pleasing his audiences, because they shared his nationalist sentiment (105). Hong's resounding success further clarified for him that his ambition of becoming a Chinese Ibsen could only be realized by responding to the needs of the people. Hong took part in the formation of the China Leftist Drama Troupe Alliance (*Zhongguo zuoyi jutuan lianmeng* 中國左翼劇團聯盟), together with the collaboration of more than fifty theater professionals in seven troupes in their joint effort to promote theater productions in a much-changed landscape of national salvation (M. Chen 1993, 39).

If a protest against a foreign movie landed Hong in a political theater, he played the role of a protagonist on an even larger stage during the war of resistance against the Japanese invaders. In 1942, for example, Hong gave one of his best theatrical performances after the play he directed, *Zaihui ba, Xianggang!* 再會吧, 香港! (Farewell, Hong Kong) had been censored by the KMT authorities in Guilin. Hong still proceeded with the first act, and captivated his audience with a spectacular stage design and an excellent cast. As the curtain rose for the second act, however, Hong walked onto the stage to inform the audience that they could not continue the show, thanks to the censors (Gao 1948, 20). Why couldn't they stage a play against the Japanese aggressors? Hong asked his audience. Instantly, he re-scripted real-life experience into an existing play. *Farewell, Hong Kong* now embodied a new structure of a play-within-a-play, with *Farewell, Hong Kong* as the inner-play and his improvised speech against censorship as the outer-play. The outer-play interrupted the inner-play while at the same time enriching the theatrical atmosphere. With an impressive figure as a famous actor, Hong improvised an "outer play" which featured himself as the protagonist and the KMT authorities as the antagonist, thus bringing to the foreground the implicit anti-authority theme against the Nationalist government, which had originally been hidden in the inner play's anti-Japanese imperialist plot.

On stage, Hong thanked the audience for their support for his struggling troupe and offered ticket refunds. He broke into tears and rushed to the back stage to embrace his acting crew, crying together in their arms. The agitated audience did not want their money; instead, they rallied around him and hoped for another opportunity to see his production. Hong's outer play against censorship therefore tactfully created what William Sauter terms "a theatrical event" that emphasizes "the performer's actions and the spectator's reactions" as a "way of describing what performers and spectators do together in the making of "the theatrical event (Davis and Postlewait 2003, 23)." Examining theatrical events both on stage and off stage, therefore, demonstrates the need to study them as interactive events, and as an important approach in understanding theater's search for an audience and for its own place in history, as exemplified by Hong.

Works Cited

Cai, Yuanpei 蔡元培 and others. 1940. *Zhongguo xin wenxue daxin daolun ji* 中國新文學大係導論集 (A collection of prefaces to the Compendium of modern Chinese literature). Shanghai: Liangjou fuxing tushu gongsi.

Chen, Baichen 陳白塵 and Dong Jian 董健. 1989. *Zhongguo xiandai xiju shigao* 中国现代戲劇史稿) (A draft history of modern Chinese drama). Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe.

Chen, Meiying 陳美英. 1993. *Hong Shen nianpu* 洪深年譜 (A chronology of Hong Shen). Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe.

Chen, Meiying 陳美英 and Song Baozhen 宋寶珍. 1996. *Hong Shen zhuan* 洪深傳 (A biography of Hong Shen). Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe.

Chen, Xiaomei. 2006. "Reflections on the Legacy of Tian Han: 'Proletarian Modernism' and Its Traditional Roots." *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 18, no. 1 (Spring): 155–215.

———. 2008. "Tian Han and the Southern Country Society Phenomenon: Networking the Personal, Communal, and Cultural." In *Literary Societies in Republican China, eds.* Kirk A. Denton and Michel Hockx, 241–79. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

———. 2010. "Introduction," in Chen Xiaomei, ed., *Columbia Anthology of Modern Chinese Drama*, 1–55. New York: Columbia University Press.

Davis, Tracy C. and Thomas Postlewait, eds. 2003. *Theatricality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dong, Limin 董麗敏. 1999. *Hong Shen* 洪深. Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe.

Dong, Naibin 董乃斌, Chen Bohai 陳伯海, and Liu Yangzhong 劉揚忠. 2003. *Zhongguo wenxue shixue shi* 中國文學史學史 (History of the historiography of Chinese literary history). Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe.

Galik, Marian. 1986. "Hung Shen's *Chao—The King of Hell*: The Interliterary Relations with O'Neill and Baker." In Marian Galik, ed., *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation* (*1898–1979*), 123–34. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Gao, Yu 高宇. 1948. "Hong Shen—jutan shang de hei xuanfeng" 洪深—劇壇上的黑旋風" (Hong Shen—The "black whirlwind" in the dramatic circle). *Renwu zazhi* 人物雜誌 (People magazine) no. 2: 17–21.

Ge, Yihong 葛一虹. 1990. *Zhongguo huaju tong shi* 中國话劇通史 (A survey history of Chinese drama). Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe.

Gu, Jin. 古今. 2011. "Ping *Hong Shen: 'Wei rensheng' de shehui xianshi xing xiju piping, xia.*" 評《洪深: "為人生" 的社會功利性戲劇批評（下）》(On Hong Shen: for-life approach of social-realist dramatic criticism, part 2). *Xiju yushu* 戲劇藝術 (Dramatic art) 1: 49–55.

Haringova, Jarmila. 1964. "The Development of Tian Han's Dramatic Writing during the Years 1920–1937." In Jaroslav Prusek, ed., *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*, 131–57. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Hong, Qian 洪钤. 2010. "Kuwei rensheng bu zi ai—xie zai fuqin Hong Shen qushi wu shi wu zhounian zhi ji" 苦味人生不自哀——寫在父親洪深去世五十五周年之際 (A bitter life without self-pity—on the fifty-fifth anniversary of my

father Hong Shen's death). http://www.edubridge.com/letter/hongshen.htm. Last accessed, November 24, 2012.

Hong, Shen 洪深. [1928] 1957. "Shuyu yige shidai de xiju" 屬於一個時代的戲劇 (Drama that belongs to historical times). In *Hong Shen wenji* 洪深文集 (Selected works of Hong Shen). Vol. 1: 448–54. Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe.

———. [1930] 1957. *Wukui Qiao* 五奎橋 (*Wukui bridge*). In *Selected Works of Hong Shen*, Vol. 1: 181–236.

———. 1935. *Daoyan* 導言 (Introduction). In Hong Shen, ed., *Zhongguo xinwenxue daxi, xiju ji* 中國新文學大系, 戲劇集 (Compendium of modern Chinese literature, drama volume), 1–99. Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi.

———. [1936] 1957. "Xiju de rensheng" 戲劇的人生 (A life of drama). In *Selected Works of Hong Shen*. Vol. 1: 474–88.

———. [1945] 1957. "*Ai 'Hongmei'*" 哀《紅梅》(Lamenting Red plum blossom). In *Selected Works of Hong Shen*. Vol. 1: 303–313.

———. [1948]. 1957 "Kangzhan shinian lai Zhongguo de xiju yundong yu jiaoyu" 抗戰十年來中國的戲劇運動與教育 (Chinese theater movement and education during the ten-years of war of resistance against Japanese invaders). In *Selected Works of Hong Shen*). Vol. 4: 121–261.

Huang, Huilin 黃會林. 1990. *Zhonguo xiandai huaju wenxue shi lue* 中國現代話劇文學史略 (A concise literary history of modern Chinese spoken drama). Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe.

Huang, Xiuji 黃修幾. 1995. *Zhongguo xin wenxue shi bianzuan shi* 中國新文學史编纂史 (A history of composing Chinese new literary histories). Beijing: Beijing daxue chuban she.

Jiao, Shangzhi 焦尚志. 1995. *Zhongguo xiandai xiju meixue sixiang fazhan shi* 中國現代戲劇美學思想发展史 (A history of development of aesthetics in modern Chinese drama). Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe.

Kaplan, Randy. 1988. "Images of Subjugation and Defiance: Female Characters in the Early Dramas of Tian Han." *Modern Chinese Literature* 4, nos. 1/2: 87–98.

Lee, Lily Hsiao Hung. 1983/84. "Local Colour in Two of T'ien Han's Early Works." *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 15/16: 102–16.

Liu, Lydia. 1995. *Translingual Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Liu, Ping 劉平. 1998. *Xiju hun: Tian Han ping zhuan* 戲劇魂－田汉評傳 (The soul of drama: a critical biography of Tian Han). Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe.

McDougall, Bonnie S. 1974. "The Search for Synthesis: T'ien Han and Mao Tun in 1920." In A.R. Davis, ed., *Search for Identity: Modern Literature and the Creative Arts in Asia*, 225–54. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

Meng, Yue 孟悅 and Dai Jinhua 戴錦華. 1989. *Fuchu lishi dibiao* 浮出歷史地表 (Emerging from history). Zhengzhou: Henan renmin.

Meserve, J. and Ruth I. Meserve. 1979. "Hung Shen: Chinese Dramatist Trained in America." *Theatre Journal* 31, 1 (March): 25–34.

Ming, Ren 明人. 1941. "Hong Shen zisha zhi xiangqing" 洪深自杀之详情 (Details of Hong Shen's suicide). *San liu jiu huabao* 三六九画报 (369 Pictorial) 3: 80.

Song, Baozhen. 宋寶珍. 2004. *Canque de xiju chibang* 殘缺的戲劇翅膀 (The injured wing of theater). Beijing: Beijing Guangbo Xueyuan chubanshe.

Tung, Constantine. 1967. "T'ien Han and Romantic Ibsen." *Modern Drama* 9, no. 4: 389–95.

———. 1968. "Lonely Search into the Unknown: T'ien Han's Early Plays, 1920–1930." *Comparative Drama* 2 (Spring): 44–54.

Wagner, Rudolf. 1990. "A Guide for the Perplexed and a Call to the Wavering: Tian Han's *Guan Hanqing* (1958) and the New Historical Drama." In his *The Contemporary Chinese Historical Drama*, 1–79. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wang, Guowei 王國维 [1912?] 1995. *Song Yuan xi qu shi* 宋元戏曲史 (A history of Song-Yuan drama), ed. Yang Yang 楊揚. Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe and Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe.

Wu, Chih. 1963. "The Collected Works of Hung Shen." *Chinese Literature* 9: 110–4.

Xu, Muyun 徐慕雲. 1938. *Zhongguo xiju shi* 中國戲劇史 (A history of Chinese drama). Shanghai: Shijie shuju.

Yan, Zhewu 閻折梧 and Sun, Qingwen 孫青紋. 1986. "Zan Hong Shen zai yishu shang de shouchuang jingshen 贊洪深在藝術上的首創精神 (In praise of Hong Shen's creative spirit in the arts). In Sun Qingwen, ed., *Hong Shen yanjiu zhuanji* 洪深研究專集 (A collection of Hong Shen studies), 133–45. Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe.

SECTION THREE

Transcultural Negotiations

CHAPTER 9

The Shanghai School: Westernized Urbanity and Scriptural Mimesis

Zhang Yinde
Translated by Ian MacCabe

The problem of coherence is to be found at the heart of discussions on the Shanghai School, due to its modernism, which abandons with difficulty its links with popular production or with leftist literature. Doubts weigh upon its purity, on the versatile and hybrid path and writing of some of its protagonists, such as Zhang Ziping 張資平, Mu Shiying 穆時英, and even Shi Zhecun 施蟄存. The controversies reveal, in actual fact, the persistence of a classical and idealized conception of literature and art that is projected on this movement so imitative of the bubbling diversity of the Westernized city. This is because, according to the defenders of the virtue of new literature, art must display a resemblance to life, as well as ensuring at the same time a certain autonomy, in so far as, in conformity with Aristotelian mimesis, art, and particularly fiction, are considered a necessary and autonomous form which pays as much attention to the imitation of facts as to the elaboration of their intelligible structures. J. Rancière calls it "the representative regime of the arts," from which an "aesthetic regime" breaks away, which is characteristic of literary modernity, for in it, "the frontier between the reason of facts and the reason of fiction" is blurred (Rancière 2000, 61). In embracing the abundant reality of the city, the Shanghai writers sought to formulate a new realism which went beyond the proposals of the Society of Literary Research or those of the Creation Society. We can observe that there is no reproduction of social hierarchies in their work, nor the care for the founding of an intrinsic intelligibility, but a sort of non-differentiation whereby the textual arrangement becomes an integral part of the kaleidoscope of the city. Impurity is thus revealed as an essential characteristic, constitutive of this literature. It is the reason for which urbanity, according to Isabelle Rabut, remains the sole criterion for the definition of the Shanghai School (Rabut 2000). Thus its modernity calls for a re-reading, integrating its strong neo-realistic content, the well known term "neo-sensationism" referring as much to a perceptive wealth as to a new objectivity.

Shanghai writers, indeed, adopted a new mimetic step, less concerned with the intelligibility of facts than the equation between the word and a certain

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_011

physiognomy of the city. Thereafter modernity reflects a sort of polymorphic contemporaneity, as testified by the subtitle in French, *Les Contemporains*, which determined the tone of the review *Xiandai* 現代. This contemporaneity appeared in the review as a receiving posture as well as an observation of plural reality. Whereas, shortly after the literary revolution, the European nineteenth century was praised as the height of an evolution starting from the Renaissance, the Shanghai modernists privileged simultaneity by translating contemporary authors, in their diversity and in their fragility, without caring for their perenniality. What was essential for the editorial staff was to fall into line with international development, to be pioneers, in contempt of ideological choice, so much so that they turned willingly towards the United States with Dos Passos and Faulkner, as well as toward the Soviet Union, in so far as Maïakovsky and Babel represented the most modern tendencies. This orientation was dictated, despite fluctuations, hesitations or even contradictions, by a precise aim which consisted of extracting, from all-directional foreign references, possibilities of correspondence between the literary forms and the multiplicity of new modes of life of town-dwellers. Thus Shi Zhecun does evoke this new "texture" woven between a multiform referent and the literary expression, in defending free verse:

> What we call modern life covers all sorts of original forms: ports harbouring long-distance couriers, factories where uproar rumbles, deep mining galleries, ballrooms where jazz is played, large department stores sheltered in skyscrapers, aerial combats, gigantic hippodromes [...]. Even the physiognomy of landscapes has changed as compared with the previous period of time. These sensations that such a life raises, will they be of the same nature as those that the poets of past generations experienced in their lifetime? (Shi 1933b)

The neo-sensationism thus expressed itself through the double game of rewriting contemporary foreign works and giving care to the diversity of reality that the grand metropolis of Shanghai offered. This modernism, born of cosmopolitan inspirations and the observation of swarming urbanity, gave rise to original scriptural steps, particularly with Mu Shiying (1912–1940, Liu Na'ou 劉吶鷗 (1900–1935) and Shi Zhecun (1905–2003): a properly mimetic or identifying prose, in tune with the vibrations of the new urban space; a creation influenced by the Hollywood cinema model which dominated the cultural life of Shanghai; and lastly an interiorized expression, which sounds out the state of consciousness of metropolitans.

A Reconfigured Mimesis

The sensitivity to the new urbanity was not the attribute of those writers. Mao Dun 茅盾 had already looked at the city with a dazzled gaze in his novel *Ziye* 子夜 (Midnight), which originally had as a subtitle "Romance of 1930 China":

> The sun had just sunk below the horizon, and a gentle breeze caressed one's face . . . Under a sunset-mottled sky, the towering framework of Garden Bridge was mantled in a gathering mist. Wherever a tram passed over the bridge, the overhead cable suspended below the top of the still frame threw off bright, greenish sparks. Looking east, one could see the warehouses of foreign firms on the waterfront of Pootung like huge monsters crouching in the gloom, their lights twinkling like countless tiny eyes. To the west, one saw with a shock of wonder on the roof of a building a gigantic NEON sign in flaming red and phosphorescent green: LIGHT, HEAT, POWER! (Mao [1933] 1979, 1)

An urban landscape, as from the incipit, is deployed before the fascinated and frightened look of the father of the protagonist, a provincial person of standing. The panorama will be detailed by the route of the same personage, aboard a 1930 model Citroen. However, the novelty of the objects described contrasted with a writing process that had remained traditional. As an adept of Zola, the author utilised here an approach that is Zolian as well as Balzacian: a panoramic chart completed by a route which enables the discovery of the place by a new arrival and which, above all, gives him the possibility of dominating the Metropolis thanks to the artifices of signposting. *Midnight* showed itself, quite rightly, in its content as well as in its form, as the worthy heir of its inspiration, Zola's novel *L'Argent*.

The optic of the Shanghai School of writers was quite otherwise. To the speed, to the broken-up space, and to the kaleidoscopic spectacles that this modern Metropolis offered corresponded a writing which tended to identify itself with the subject by an adequate set of tools. A new discursive system was thus mobilized to implement games of fragmentation, of repetition and of movement.

First of all, the narrations indeed impress by this fragmentary character, which is displayed right away in the actual titles, thus claiming its legitimacy. The collection of Liu Na'ou's stories is entitled *Dushi fengjingxian* 都市風景線 (Metropolitan scenes): it could be translated as "The panorama of the city" or "The metropolitan landscape," but these titles would be less appropriate

than the French word "scène" printed on the cover. The former translation finds its additional justification in the juxtaposition of entertainments and various scenes, disseminated in the collection of narrations without merging into a global vision. Mu Shiying illustrated this practice in the short story which brought him celebrity: *Shanghai hubuwu* 上海狐步舞 (The Shanghai foxtrot), first published in 1933.[1] This short story has a significant sub-title, "A Fragment," referring to an unfinished novel which should have been entitled *Zhongguo 1931* 中國一九三一 (China in 1931). It is thus the sketch of a fuller work of fiction, in homage to the American writer Dos Passos for his novel *1919*, second volet of his trilogy *USA*.[2] However, beyond this architextual relation, this title preludes, as in Liu Na'ou, a certain vision of urban life and its peculiar textualization. It displays the manifesto of an enterprise which seeks to transform the crumbling reality into words, into beams of flashing light.

"The Shanghai Foxtrot" is indeed characterized by its textual fragmentation, in so far as it is less focalized on characters than on various pictures and scenes which this bubbling city offers. In a few strokes, it shows a mother-in-law who goes to a nightclub with her son-in-law, perfect in his role as a gigolo. We see also the silhouette of this writer dragged, in spite of himself, into a poor district to behold spectacles of misery. But the real characters turn out to be the broken up spaces, inside and outside: streets, trains, cars, shop windows, neon lights, hotels, nightclubs. The description of these places is subjected to dispersion, either through the incessant displacement of the characters, or by the imaginary wandering of the author himself as a character. This dispersion, which goes through the whole text, creates the effects of a splintered topography. Added to it are descriptive passages split up into pieces in the sense that odd scenes are put side by side in a succession of fleeting pictures:

> A *Fashion Model* plays the gentlewoman in clothes from her shop. Within fifteen seconds, the lift propels its load of passengers to the terrace garden. A secretary admires, in a silk clothes shop window, a pure silk French

1 In no. 1, vol. 2 of *Les Contemporains;* again in his 1933 collection *Gongmu* 公墓 (The cemetery) and in his complete works of fiction in 2001 (Mu [1933] 2001).

2 According to the recollection of Zhao Jiabi 趙家璧, "This novel initially entitled *China in 1931*, it is I who encouraged him to write it. At that time, I very much appreciated the trilogy of Dos Passos, a progressive American writer, of which a volet is precisely entitled *1919*. Mu Shiying borrowed it from me. After his reading it, he was on the point of writing about China in the manner of Dos Passos, by writing an inventive novel, in a narration capable of bringing together the historical context, the important personages of the time, and the author's own experience" (Quoted by Yan Jiayan in Yan 2001).

> *crêpe*, and sees once more the smile of her manager, whose razor blade has made his face turn blue ... (Mu [1933] 2001, 281)

These brush strokes are like flashes projected on fragments which form more of a patchwork than a composition. The diffraction is at its maximum in these kinetic passages which blow a breathtaking rhythm to the text: in a "1932 Buick, latest model,"

> Tree legs painted in white on the road sides, legs of electricity pylons, static legs ... young girls crossing their powdered thighs, like in a *revue* ... rows of legs painted in white. All along the tranquil avenue, escaping from the windows of the houses, through mosquito nets, are pink lights, violet lights, green lights, lights everywhere, pupils of the city. (276)

The nervous tension is all the more palpable in that it rests as much upon these nominal, short and convulsive phrases, as upon their repetition.

Repetition does, indeed, constitute another writing strategy which tends to follow the movements of the city. The short story is sprinkled with the repetition of the same passages. It is the case for the paragraph quoted about the parade of legs; a paragraph repeated two pages further on, when the characters are in a car. But instead of a spaced out repetition, we observe at times the same descriptive segment that is repeated immediately afterwards. Thus the Hotel Huadong is described with the refrain of "room painted in white, aroma of bronze coloured opium, game of mah-jong," a suite of scenes and impressions declined in identical terms, floor by floor following the ascension of the lift. The subjects vary, but not the verb and its complement which punctuate an iterative syntax: "Laughter threads its way through the open door. Whiffs of alcohol thread their way through the open door. Jazz music threads its way through the open door ..." (Mu [1933] 2001, 285). The substitution of one verb by another doesn't modify in any way this fundamental scansion, as this description of dance steps reveals: "Dancing: the rhythm of the waltz wraps itself around their legs, their feet *float* with the rhythm of the waltz, softly, softly," repeated on the next page: "Dancing: the rhythm of the waltz wraps itself around their legs, their feet *tread* the rhythm of the waltz" (279). This change of verb has no other function than to fall into step with this continuous dance by following the nuances in the mobility of the foot support. The reiteration combined with variations catches hold, in these conditions, of a rhythm and a musicality in line with the scenes evoked.

The mimetic attempt already sketched out in this example is pushed to a paroxysm in the two following descriptive paragraphs where the setting of

the scene of the ball transforms itself literally into a choreography of words. These two reiterated passages have the particularity of presenting a similar but inversed structure:

> The bluish twilight envelops the whole scene. A *saxophone* singing out towards them, the neck stretched out, the mouth overly opened. In the middle, on the glossy dance floor, skirts spinning round, flaps of dresses spinning round, heels of evening shoes, heels, heels, heels, heels. Wavy hair and masculine faces. White collars of men's shirts and smiling faces of women. Arms are stretching out, jade earrings falling on the shoulders. Disorder of chairs in the middle of battalions of round tables orderly arranged. Waiters in white costumes are standing in the shadows. Smell of alcohol, smell of perfume, smell of bacon and eggs, smell of tobacco ... lonesome individuals, sitting in the corners, are recovering their spirits with cups of black coffee. (Mu [1933] 2001, 279)

The same passage is repeated further along, but in an inversed order: the author starts from the end to go up to the beginning of the above passage, thus proposing an enantiomorphic organization of the representation:

> Lonesome individuals, sitting in the corners, are recovering their spirits with cups of black coffee. Smell of alcohol, smell of perfume, smell of bacon and eggs, smell of tobacco ... Waiters in white costumes are standing in the shadows. Disorder of chairs in the middle of battalions of tables orderly arranged. Jade earrings are falling on the shoulders, arms are stretching out. The smiling faces of women and white collars of men's shirts. Masculine faces and wavy hair. Heels of evening shoes, heels, heels, heels, heels, flaps of dresses spinning round, skirts spinning round, in the middle there is the glossy dance floor. Singing out towards them, the saxophone, the neck stretching out, the mouth overly opened. The bluish twilight envelops the whole scene. (Mu [1933] 2001, 280)

The words thus move on, waltz, spin round, marking out two circles around the dance floor, in one direction and then in another. They are read, therefore, like a piece that is danced or orchestrated according to a choreography subjected to this rotation. To this general roundabout movement, split into two and symmetrical, is added the parade, inside each passage, of some staccato, syncopated, even dislocated phrases, reduced at times to the hammering of a single term, such as "heels," which tend to cause the broken and agitated foxtrot steps to echo. The words transform themselves into pictures, designing a sort of iconic text in its pure materiality.

This verbal choreography echoes to a global architecture sketching the same circular movement, as the account begins by "Shanghai, a paradise built on hell" and closes on an identical assertion. This circularity is doubled with a bipartite structure which displays the coexistence of paradise and hell in this Westernized city, where the people of dance halls and cabarets rub shoulders with the dregs of society and where lewdness contrasts with misery. The spiral of the dance finally encloses an ambivalent conception of the city: "… 'a Shanghai express,' the belly to the fore, dragon clenching a luminous pearl between its teeth, swallows the curve in a fox-trot rhythm. Mouth howling" (Mu [1933] 2001, 276). From this mixture between the pace of the dance and that of the locomotive, a hybrid vision is released, the shadow of monstrosity is projected on the euphoric metaphors, to externalize a sentiment of terror and of fascination and to recall the imprint of left-wing literature, or else proletarian, on neo-sensationism.

Cinematographic Mediation

This staccato and rhythmic writing, engaged with a profuse reality, already allows techniques of montage to infiltrate. Cinema, which impregnated the style of life of our Shanghai writers, exercises in effect an impact that is not negligible on their narrative creation, an impact noticeable in the setting of intrigues into text, in the search of visual effects and in the representation of women which gives to urban imaginary all its sensuality.

Our writers were convinced cinema enthusiasts. Liu Na'ou, who was born in Taiwan, but studied in Japan and learned French at "Aurore" University in Shanghai, was a theoretician of cinematographic aesthetics, editor of a film magazine and author of numerous essays on the cinema. He was the subject of criticism by left-wing writers, due precisely to his marked taste for Hollywood films, labelled "soft film" (*ruan dianying* 軟電影), owing to their melodramatic themes. The numerous essays which he published in *Wugui lieche* 無軌列車 (Railless train), *Xiandai dianying* 現代電影 (Modern screen), and *Dianying zhoubao* 電影週報 (The cinema weekly), contributed largely to the understanding of this visual art in 1930s China (Liu 2002).[3] The film criticism, and even the cinematographic practice, reflect on the narrative writing in a patent way. The impact is particularly perceptible in the manner in which the writers build up a scenario, in their search for visual effects, reinforced by the technique of focalisation, as well as in the textualization of the desire for the city.

3 For the sociological and critical aspects of the cinema of the time, see Lee 1999 notably chap. 3, part I. See also Li 2000.

The narratives inspired by this art lose, first of all, their linearity or their diegetic continuity, getting closer to scripts or scenarios. They are built up like successive shots, very similar to those of the cinema, except for the absence of numbering. "Yezonghui li de wuge ren" 夜總會裡的五個人 (Five in a nightclub),[4] of Mu Shiying, reveals this discontinuous and fragmentary character: out of the 491 lines which make up this story, 366 lines, that is 75 percent of the total, are organized in paragraphs of one or two lines (Li 2000, 302). Each paragraph can thus be considered as a shot or as a series of pictures, especially as they are sometimes reduced to a simple spatiotemporal annotation or to "stage directions": "Saturday afternoon, April 6th, 1932," "The customers' conversation," "Customer C," "Customer D" (Mu [1932b] 2001, 246, 252, 260). "The Shanghai Foxtrot" presents similarities with the former text in this cinematographic imitation, in so far as certain paragraphs commence with a sole term, "Lincoln street," "Dancing" (Mu [1933] 2001, 275, 279), limiting them to a minimalist notation. These miniaturized paragraphs and their multiplication result in the fragmentation and the breaking up of the text, giving the author new means for transposing into his fictional world his perception of the metamorphosis of the city: Mu Shiying, writing a preface to his collection, *The Platinum Woman's Statue*, compares his life to a train going at full speed: "The joys, the sorrows, the troubles, the dreams, the hopes of life … are shaken up as in a kaleidoscope where the pieces, stirred up, stick together, come apart by turns" (Mu [1934b] 2001, 741). The creation of visual and kinetic effects reveals another aspect of the influence of the cinema. Our writers do indeed try to endow the writing with an evocative power similar to that of monochrome lights. A descriptive passage in "Five in a Nightclub" refers to black and white films in seeking to create on the page a luminous contrast:

> Tablecloths: white linen, white linen, white linen, white linen … white—
> On the white linen: dark (black) beer and black coffee, … black, black …
>
> By the white tablecloths sit men dressed in formal evening attire: layers of black and white: black hair, white faces, black eyes, white collars, black ties, white starched shirts, black jackets, white vests, black pants … black and white … (Mu [1932b] 2001, 250)

Objects and clothes parade firstly in an alternation of black and white. But during this accelerated procession, the white and the black submerge the objects, even if for a moment the color still stays linked to them. At the end, the two

4 I am using, with some slight modifications, the translation of Randolf Trumbull in his thesis "The Shanghai Modernists" (Trumbull, 1989).

entities break away, leaving room for the sole monochromatic remanence, by means of the separation of the adjectives and the substantives. The author thus tends to recreate the pictures by a succession of words, disposed in a dislocated and suspensive syntax which culminates with two isolated and percussive ultimate adjectives.

This description at the same time recalls the traveling of the camera. It is in fact a practice which the author is very fond of, with his elliptic phrases, without predicates or objects, as in the above-mentioned passage, repeated in an inversed order, describing the "Shanghai Racing Club." These broken up syntaxes lead to descriptive ruptures, producing a kaleidoscopic effect through great focal mobility, ruptures which are not without recalling, once again, the shots or the rapid changing fields of vision in a film montage.

The impact of the cinema is finally expressed in the insistent use of focalisation, guided by the point of view of masculine characters, whose obsessional look objectifies women or modulates their image. This focalisation on feminine characters stems from a cinematographic reading centered on the feminine representation on the screen. Liu Na'ou devoted an essay to the analysis of feminine beauty as it is shaped by the screen:

> This new form of beauty is represented by the cinema stars such as Greta Garbo, Joan Crawford and Tan Ying. Their spontaneous manner of acting and of feeling is audacious, direct and free, but they tend to repress it, by maintaining it in the eventuality. Crawford, with her eyes wide open and her lips tightly sealed, her look fixed on the men, incarnates this type of expression which illustrates perfectly this psychology: in their heart of hearts there is passion that seeks to spring out like a torrent, which, however, finding no way out is choked in a stagnant presence in their eyes and on their lips. The psychological reaction of men in the face of this type of expression is the following: this girl loves me as if she wanted to swallow me in one mouthful, but, pitiably, she does not dare admit it. In this she enjoys a double satisfaction: the modern man is in love with such a woman who passionately seeks a man's love but perhaps never finds it. And they never cease to show this psychology on their face: this type of woman appears in the eyes of men to be the most beautiful and the most modern. (Liu 1934a, 16; Liu 2002, 338)

Despite a somewhat contradictory and phallocratic psychological analysis, these observations express an unprecedented sensibility towards the plastic and expressive beauty of women. This focal point is illustrated by a passage which draws the portrait of a woman of pleasure, called Craven A,

after the brand of a cigarette that she smokes, an eponym of Mu Shiying's short story:

> Her eyes. When she smoked Craven As, her eyes looked like light grey flannel. Through the faint smoke, she kept a vague, indifferent gaze in front of her which appeared not to have noticed anyone. When she powdered herself, looking at herself in the mirror of her handbag, when she danced, when she smiled, when she spoke, her wily black eyes, like those of mice, looked at people with vivacity, over the edge of the mirror, over the shoulder of her partner, over the top of her glass of liquor, as if she had wanted to ravish the soul of all men.
>
> This has become a craze with me just watching her. (Mu [1932a] 2001, 139)

In adopting the look of the protagonist, contemplation gives total legitimacy to this detailed description which, on all points, transposes the techniques of the close-up and of superimposition. This obsession with the physiognomy and the gestures of the feminine character objectifies it, but paradoxically by transforming it into a true star. In "The Platinum Woman's Statue," it is the body of a patient which is unveiled in her plastic and placid nudity, under the petrified eye of her Pygmalion doctor. The medical examination is transformed into a moment of contemplation which raises the patient up to a statuesque subject of adoration. In both cases the star making of feminine characters participates in the shaping of the town (Mu [1934a] 2001).

The interferences between cinema and literature effectively give rise to the image of a town besieged by feminine sensuality, revealing one of the most distinctive characteristics of neo-sensationism incarnated by some Shanghai writers: the representation of desire in the urban context. These writers try hard to bring out the convulsive, agitated and carnal beauty of the metropolis, which they do not hesitate to liken to a female being. A passage of "Craven A" in particular illustrates it: the body of this woman who smokes Craven A, progressively blends, to the eyes of the observer, into the map of the town, the geographical map following the outline of her silhouette. So then is unveiled a portrait displayed like a corporeal topography, where the town and the woman are rolled into one:

> Under the table there were two jetties and I saw, through the nets of the stockings, white earth like a fish's belly. At the end of the breakwaters two delicate white gulls with black beaks are asleep, lulled into the beginning of a deep summer's dream, close to a calm beach.

> Between the two jetties there must be, judging by the situation of the ground, an alluvial plain delta and, on the seaside, a harbour, a large commercial port town. Otherwise what use is there in building two so beautiful jetties? The nocturnal spectacle of the metropolis is charming. Imagine the twilight which envelops the jetties, the waves which hit the quay, the majestic motion of a ship which enters the harbour, the waves at its bows, and the buildings on either side! (Mu [1932a] 2001, 141)

The erotic metaphors are too explicit in this anthropo-geographic description for us not to be aware of the bringing into play the female body, on which are condensed the libidinal energies. This map-woman thus constitutes the female incarnation of the city, whilst the eroticisation of the town transforms it into a place of sublimed desire.

Eros produces the inversion of the hierarchy. The physical portrait of women extends into their moral portrait which accords them unsuspected values: initiative, independence, and wit. Liu Na'ou who, in his critical essays, still appears to be prisoner of macho clichés, does not hesitate to practice self-mockery in his short stories and to praise the modern feminine figure, as in "Liangge shijian buganzheng zhe" 兩個時間不感症者 (Two people impervious to time) in which a woman met at the hippodrome abandons two gentlemen-in-waiting:

> Ah, how childish you are! How can you be so clumsy! You end up bothering me, with all your business of ice-cream and walks. Don't you know that *love-making* takes place in a car, in the wind? In the suburbs there is no lack of shade. Never had I ever spent more than three hours with a gentleman. Today, I failed to stick to that rule. (Liu [1930] 2002, 210)

With Mu Shiying, feminine figures are also gifted with a vivacity of mind which tarnishes the intellectuals. In "Luotuo, nicaizhuyizhe he nüren" 駱駝, 尼采主義者和女人 (The Camelo-Nietzschean and the woman), a philosopher who was lecturing a woman as to how to smoke and to drink coffee, received in return a lecture: "While they are dining, she teaches him that there are three hundred and seventy-three brands of cigarettes, twenty-eight kinds of coffee and five thousand ways of preparing cocktails" (Mu [1935] 2001, 319). The feminine figures, instead of exalting enthusiasm for a town which flashes desire, metaphorize rather the misery of the town dwellers who are sinking into frustration, even tumbling down, as witnessed in Mu's "Five in a Nightclub" by the fate of the five characters, rejected by life, drowned in alcoholic forgetfulness in the space of a Saturday evening, before setting out on their way to the

graveyard. The narrative, cut up into small sequences, smashes the hope, which the flashes of neon and glasses can hardly protect.

An Interiorized Writing

The city of desire thus reveals all of its ambiguity, in its strong fascination just as in its insidious power of alienation. If the camera-pen confers the most efficient expressivity to this ambivalence by the visual transfer focused on the representation of the female body, on the other hand, the Shanghai writers seek to sound out the complex internal world of the town-dwellers by scrutinizing their psyches affected by the confusion of perceptions or the uneasiness of conscience. It will be interesting to see how an interiorized writing, strengthened by a particular discursive arrangement, penetrates the "interior" urban networks. Shi Zhecun, emulator of Schnitzler and of Poe, is its most representative writer.

Shi Zhecun makes intensive and systematic use of the interior monologue in the representation of the psychic movements of the characters. The referential setting of Shanghai is not absent from his narratives: station, tramway stops, large department stores, restaurants, hotels, cafés, and especially cinema theatres, constitute permanent decors. However, they serve much more as indicators of the psychological progression of the characters, particularly in his short stories written after 1930. The environment often has a catalytic effect by revealing the town-dwellers' consciences, their inhibitions and their phantasms.

Shi Zhecun, who received a solid classical education—after the war, he abandoned writing in order to devote himself to classical Chinese literature—drew his inspiration from foreign authors, notably from the Viennese writer Arthur Schnitzler, from Freudism, and from the psychology of Havelock Ellis. His historical fiction already revealed an original approach which consisted of representing historic or legendary characters, through a modern re-creation which highlights their interior conflicts. The Kashmiri scholar Kumarajiva (344–413), native of Kucha 龜茲 (Central Asia) and one of the four great translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese, is staged in the eponymous story "Jiumoluoshi" 鳩摩羅什 (Kumarajiva) (Shi [1929] 1992). The short story relates the struggle of the character between faith and desire, a conflictual schema recontextualised, inspired by *Thaïs*, a novel by Anatole France, that Du Heng 杜衡, his friend and associate, had translated in 1928 (Du, 1928). *The General's Head* takes up the same theme in describing a Tibeto-Chinese general, under the Tang dynasty, who suffers from an identity crisis and a heart-rending choice between duty

and love. *Shi Xiu* 石秀 parodies the *Water Margin* character (taken notably from chapters 45 and 46), but unveils the shadow of the Marquis de Sade in amplifying the misogynist pleasure enjoyed by the denunciator Shi Xiu, who takes delight from the scene of the execution, in which Yang Xiong 楊雄 puts an end to the life of his wife, Pan Qiaoyun 潘巧雲, guilty of adultery with a monk.

Shi Zhecun willingly recognises his indebtedness to Schnitzler, considering the Viennese writer as the initiator of the psychic description of his contemporaries. In the preface which he wrote for his own translation of *Therese, Chronicle of the life of a woman*, he asserts:

> The work of Schnitzler relates, we can say, wholly to the theme of love, because love is important for life in all its aspects. Nevertheless, instead of treating physical love as facts or behaviour, he puts the accent on the analysis of sexual psychology. We can say that on this question he is comparable to Freud. Certain people assert that he let himself be intentionally influenced by the latter. However we owe it to him, to him Schnitzler, to have introduced the Freudian theory into practice, to have opened a new path for modern European literature and to have prepared the ground for the appearance in England of Lawrence and of Joyce, great masters in psychology. The interior monologue used in *Ulysses*, a celebrated novel of Joyce, had previously been used by Schnitzler in these two short stories, *Fräulein Else* (Miss Else) and *Lieutenant Gustl*. (Shi 1937; cited in Lee 1999, 166)[5]

In the preface to his translation of "Miss Else," he reiterates the importance of Schnitzler's interior monologue by reaffirming the indebtedness of Joyce and of his own with due regard to the Viennese writer: "During a certain period, I was moved to passion for the short stories of Schnitzler. I don't know German, but no English or French version of his work has escaped me." Shi Zhecun had translated three other texts of Schnitzler, the manuscript of which he lost during the war (Shi 1945; cited in Lee 1999, 166–7).

This assiduous frequentation of Schnitzler's works orients Shi Zhecun's fiction towards a deliberate subjectivity. Unlike Lu Xun or Guo Moruo who contented themselves with the figuration of the dream by referring to Freud's

5 Shi cites also Hugo von Hofmannsthal, whose work appeared to him "full of mystic color." At the end of this preface, he attaches a bibliography of short stories and theatre pieces available in Chinese, including the four titles he translated himself: *Fraülein Else, Lieutenant Gustl, Frau Berta Garlan*, and *Frau Beate und ihr Sohn.*

theory, Shi Zhecun is in search of possibilities enabling him to confound the voice of the narrator with the perception of characters in a narrative contrivance likely to make their mental process apparent. He attempts by that to elaborate a new narrativity, suited to represent in depth psyche and sexuality.

As with Schnitzler, the interior monologue impregnates the greater part of his accounts which integrate intrigues, descriptions, and dialogues in a strongly interiorized narration. The interiorization is encouraged by the change in narrative voice, by the play of pronouns and by putting into place a particular indirect free speech. Thus Shi Zhecun puts forward all the resources of the Chinese language in so far as, thanks to the absence of temporal marks, and of a strict rule concerning the concordance between subject and predicate, this drifting is more easily deployed to favor the representation of the mental process of the characters. Due to the absence of declarative formula and the obliteration of enunciative marks, the indirect free speech operates with greater freedom. Three short stories inscribe at their heart this imbrication of the conscience and of the narration: "Zai Bali daxiyuan" 在巴黎大戲院 (At the Theater 'Le Paris'), "Meiyu zhi xi" 梅雨之夕 (An evening of spring rainfall), and "Mo dao" 魔道 (Witchcraft).

As a central theme, "At the Theater 'Le Paris' " is about erotic obsession. The story describes the intimate experience of the narrator who goes to the cinema, "Le Paris," in the company of a young lady. It is a theatre which, according to the narrator, does not afford the same luxury nor even the same comfort as the Grand Theatre, the Carlton or the Nankin, but its discrete mundaneness makes it exactly the ideal place for an intimate rendezvous. The short story has descriptions concerning the place and the ritual of a cinema performance. The details are used in reality to set a framework which triggers off an intense exploration of the psychic life of the protagonist-narrator, in the same vein as "Lieutenant Gustl" and "Fräulein Else" of Schnitzler. The narrator unveils, through an uninterrupted interior monologue, the movements of a married man's thinking when going to the cinema with a young lady, as he observes each of the gestures of his companion, whom he finds seductive, and on whom he projects his fantasy. The schematization of Freudism is shown through certain details, such as the fetishism of the damp handkerchief as a symptom of a badly controlled impulse or the sentiment of guilt which strikes the character when leaving the theatre.

"An Evening of Spring Rainfall" stages a similar extra-conjugal meeting, except that the decor is removed to the outside. The short story is shaped as a narrative of a celebrated 1928 poem of Dai Wangshu 戴望舒, "Yuxiang" 雨巷 (Alley under the rain), soaked in the perfume of lilac and full of gentle melancholy. Whereas the former text is drawn from the fantasy of the narrator,

this one seeks to relate his hallucinations. The narrator, a married man, meets on the street corner a young girl who, having alighted from a tram, finds refuge there. The company of this young girl provokes moments of bewilderment for the character, right up until his return home where her voice still echoes and her silhouette moves. The whole account weaves through confusion, mystery, and suspense, because the "road companion," unlike his spouse, remains blurred, silent and evanescent, whilst the shared route reveals itself as a path of doubt, a moment of observation, of interrogation and of anxiety.

Questioning is sometimes transformed into uneasiness and fear. That is the case with "Witchcraft," about the psychological disturbance that the narrator goes through: he is pursued by the vision of a woman dressed in black, seen everywhere, at the station, in the countryside, at the theatre ... The psychic process verges on the supernatural and the fantastic. The uneasiness of perception and of conscience is read here with artifices of symbolization, particularly with the declension of insistent pictures: an old woman in black, a black stain on the window pane, dark ale (called black beer in Chinese), a black cat. This supernatural atmosphere and an inexplicable death are not without recalling Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 *Liaozhi zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (*Fantastic tales of the chamber of leisure*). They are undoubtedly also inspired by foreign masters of the kind, and Edgar Poe, first of all, whom Shi Zhecun liked. A passage of the short story reveals the readings that inspired Shi:

> It would be better if I started reading; I have brought some books in my case. Well, it's not the right time to take out *The Romance of Sorcery*. Who knows if it's not the reading of these that has made me crazy? I had a tendency to read too much these last few days. To be sure, it's not to be ruled out. Nevertheless, this old lady has undoubtedly something queer about her. Even if I had not read these books, I would no doubt have had the same impression. Which book shall I take out? *The extraordinary stories* of Le Fanu,[6] *The Odes of the Persian religion, The Archives of sexual crimes, Treasures of English poetry?* At first sight, none of these titles tempts me. What else do I have in my luggage? ... Nothing, I have brought only these five books ... as well as an issue of *The Psychology Review* of no interest. Well now! There she is, spying on me again. (Shi [1931] 1997, 26–27)

6 Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu (1814–1873). This Irishman was the author of numerous ghost stories which make him the master of Victorian fantastic stories. Cf. Le Fanu 1923.

We cannot brush aside, with this multiplicity of references, the suspicion of a cultural capital display, but it confirms the cosmopolitan sources of this interiorized and phantasmagoric narrative discourse. With Shi Zhecun, subjectivity is closely linked to the interest he has in magic and in fantasticism, introducing an unsuspected passage between the arcana of the psychic life of the characters and the labyrinths of the city. The "disquieting strangeness" which reigns over his universe brings him closer, according to Leo Ou-fan Lee, to the Gothic novels: the shadow of the colonial architecture plunges Shanghai into the Tenebrae, making the inhabitants flee from this haunted place (Shi [1933a] 1998).

If the demoniac forces of the town are interiorized by Shi Zhecun to provoke psychic disturbances, other writers of the Shanghai School prefer to exteriorize them through linguistic symptoms, and the disturbance could go as far as the recourse to typographic artifices. Thus, to translate the doctor's confusion in front of the splendid nudity of his patient, in "The Platinum Woman's Statue," Mu Shiying lines up a string of words without punctuation, except for parentheses:

> (There is no one else in the house a so splendid statue of platinum does not pay much attention somebody inattentive excessive sexual desire vague words a haggard look mysteriously insensibly projects a sublime passion has lost every obstacle all power of resistance stretched out over there)
>
> (May God protect me from the statue of platinum oh God protect me from the statue of platinum oh God protect me from the statue of platinum oh God protect me from the statue of platinum oh God protect me from the statue of platinum oh God protect me . . .). (Mu [1934a] 2001)

A practice rendered commonplace today, the omission of punctuation was certainly much less the case at the time, among the linguistic resources aiming to better translate the interior movements of the characters. Despite the parentheses which attenuate the boldness of experimentation, the absence of punctuation accompanied by repetition, creates here a chain of equivalence and of displacement, so much so that the word "God" enters into a relationship of permutation with that of "statue of platinum," metamorphosing this statue of flesh into a goddess. The deification of feminine beauty and the secularisation of God are rendered possible by this confused prayer where God, in Chinese, *zhu* 主 (lord), cannot be written in capital letters. Mu Shiying here joins Shi Zhecun, in so far as the recognition of the mental and verbal confusion takes a paroxystic form of writing, bearer of the external and internal tremors of the city.

The practices of the Shanghai School show these writers groping their way regarding the representation of the modern town: dispersed space, existential crisis, and confusion in perception. These aspects are found in the formal choices which often lead the Shanghai writers to transgress the conventions of fiction newly established by the protagonists of the May Fourth Movement on the European model of the nineteenth century, but without abandoning the sense of observation or trying to ennoble literature by reproducing the social hierarchy. Certainly they demonstrate new sensibilities: in this, without contest, they merit the name of neo-sensationists. However these sensibilities are anchored in new and diverse realities, instead of lapsing into the celebration of the triumph of perception. Their writing is experimental in the sense that it reconfigures a mimesis which neglects the preoccupations of intelligibility by identifying itself with the polymorphism of the town. Starting with lacunary and elliptic texts we pass through the continued flow of the internal monologue, ending up with the dislocation of the narrative structure and with typographic plays: the multidirectional exploration of the verbal virtualities tends, in fine, to go as near as possible to this heteroclite urban identity and to its problematized subjectivity.

Works Cited

Du, Heng 杜衡, trans. 1928. “Daisi” 黛絲 (*Thaïs*). Shanghai: Kaiming shudian. Originally by Anatole France (1890).

Le Fanu, Joseph Sheridan. 1923. *In a Glass Darkly*. London: E. Nash & Grayson.

Lee, Leo Ou-fan. 1999. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Li, Jin. 2000. “Neo-sensationism and the Cinema.” In Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino, eds., *Pékin-Shanghai: tradition et modernité dans la littérature chinoise des années trente*. (Peking-Shanghai: tradition and modernity in the Chinese literature of the thirties), 283–318. Paris: Bleu de Chine.

Liu, Na’ou 劉吶鷗. 1934a. “Xiandai biaoqingmei zaoxing” 現代表情美造型 (The modern aesthetic form of expression). *Furen huabao* 婦人畫報 (Illustrated women’s magazine) (June 8), 16.

———. [1934b] 2002. “Liangge shijian buganzheng zhe” 兩個時間不感症者 (Two people impervious to time). In Kang Laixin 康來新 and Xu Qinzhen 許秦蓁, eds., *Liu Na’ou quanji* 劉吶鷗全集 (Complete works of Liu Na’ou), *Wenxue ji* 文學集 (volume on literature), 99–111. Tainan: Wenhuaju.

———. 2002b. *Dianying ji* 電影集 (volume on cinema). In *Complete Works of Liu Na’ou*.

Mao, Dun 茅盾. [1933] 1979. *Midnight* (子夜 Ziye), trans. Sidney Shapiro. 2d ed. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.

Mu, Shiying 穆時英. [1932a] 2001. "Craven A." In *Mu Shiying xiaoshuo quanji* 穆時英小說全集 (The complete fictional works of Mu Shiying). Vol. 1, 139–55. Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe.

———. [1932b] 2001. "Yezonghui li de wuge ren" 夜總會裡的五個人 (Five in a nightclub). In *The Complete Fictional Works of Mu Shiying.* Vol. 1, 315–20.

———. [1933] 2001. "Shanghai de hubuwu" 上海的狐步舞 (The Shanghai foxtrot). In *The Complete Fictional Works of Mu Shiying*. Vol. 1, 275–85.

———. [1934a] 2001. "Baijin de nüti suxiang"白金的女體塑像 (The platinum woman's statue). In *The Complete Fictional Works of Mu Shiying*). Vol. 2, 432–3.

———. [1934b] 2001. "Baijin de nüti suxiang zhi xu" 白金的女體塑像自序 (Preface to The platinum woman's statue). In *The Complete Fictional Works of Mu Shiying*. Vol. 2, 741.

———. [1935] 2001. "Luotuo, nicaizhuyizhe he nüren" 駱駝, 尼采主義者和女人 (The Camelo-Nietzschean and the woman). In *The Complete Fictional Works of Mu Shiying*. Vol. 1, 315–20.

Rabut, Isabelle. 2000. "École de Pékin, École de Shanghai: un parcours critique." (Peking School, Shanghai School: a critical analysis). In Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino, eds., *Pékin-Shanghai: tradition et modernité dans la littérature chinoise des années trente* (Peking-Shanghai: tradition and modernity in Chinese literature of the thirties), 35. Paris: Bleu de Chine.

Rabut, Isabelle, and Angel Pino, eds. 2000. *Pékin-Shanghai: tradition et modernité dans la littérature chinoise des années trente* (Peking-Shanghai: tradition and modernity in Chinese literature of the thirties). Paris: Bleu de Chine.

Rancière, Jacques. 2000. *Le Partage du sensible*: *esthétique et politique.* (Shared sensibility: aesthetics and politics). Paris: La Fabrique.

Schnitzler, Arthur. 1928. *Frau Berta Garlan und andere Novellen* (Mrs. Berta Garlan and other short stories). Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag.

Shi, Zhecun 施蟄存. [1929] 1992. "Jiumoluoshi" 鳩摩羅什 (Kumarajiva) In *Shi Zhecun xinli xiaoshuo* 施蟄存心理小說 (Psychological stories of Shi Zhecun), 11–43. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.

———. [1931] 1997. "Modao" 魔道 (Witchcraft). In Shi Zhecun, *Meiyu zhi xi* 梅雨之夕 (An evening of spring rainfall). Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe.

———. [1933a] 1998 "Xiongzhai" 凶宅 (The haunted house). In Wu Fuhui, ed., *Shi Zhecun duanpian xiaoshuoji* 施蟄存短篇小說集 (Short stories of Shi Zhecun), 227–53. Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe.

———. 1933b. "You ganyu benkan zhong de shi" 有感於本刊中的詩 (Some further reflections on the poems published in the review). *Xiandai* 現代 *Les Contemporains* (Contemporaries), 4, no. 1: 6–7.

———. 1937. *Baoming de Dailisha xu* 薄命的戴麗莎序 (Preface to Therese, chronicle of the life of a woman), 1–5. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju.

———. 1945. Aiersai zhi si tiji 愛爾賽之死題記 (Foreword to Death of Else), 1–2. Shanghai: Fuxing shuju.).

Trumbull, Randolf. 1989. "The Shanghai Modernists." PhD diss., Stanford University.

Yan, Jiayan 嚴家炎. 2001. "Mu Shiying changpian xiaoshuo zhuizongji" 穆時英長篇小說追踪記 (In search of Mu Shiying's novel). *Xinwenxue shiliao* 新文學史料 (Material for new literature) 2: 196.

CHAPTER 10

A Traveling Text: *Souvenirs entomologiques*, Japanese Anarchism, and Shanghai Neo-Sensationism[1]

Peng Hsiao-yen

This chapter starts with a palm-of-the-hand story written by a Shanghai Neo-Sensationist in 1934. It is a genre appropriated from the *tenohira no shōsetsu* 掌の小説 (palm-of-the-hand story) made famous by the Japanese Neo-Sensationist Kawabata Yasunari, who had learned it from the *conte* by the French modernist Paul Morand (Peng 2006). Through this story, I would like to demonstrate how a literary genre, having crossed the borders of nations from Europe to Asia, was used in China to ridicule the trend of scientism and modernist pursuits, while taking on aspects quite different from its original Japanese and French models.

The topic of the palm-of-the-hand story is usually about a male narrator ogling a seductive girl. The particular story I am going to analyze, written by the Hong Kong poet Ogai Kamome 鷗外鷗 (or Ouwai Ou, 1911–1995), elaborates on this classic topic, while equating human behavior with insect behavior. Titled "Yanjiu chujiao de sange ren" 研究觸角的三個人 (The three who study antennas), it used the science of insect behavior to interpret love between the opposite sexes in a playful fashion, typical of Neo-Sensationist stories. But the meaning of the story goes beyond humor. Although no names or books are ever mentioned, it evokes Lu Xun's (1881–1936) advocacy of Jean-Henri Fabre's (1823–1915) ten volume work *Souvenirs entomologiques: étude sur l'instinct et les mœurs des insectes* (Memories of insects: study on the instinct and manners of insects; 1879–1907) during the 1920s. Lu Xun, who did not know French, read the Japanese translation, titled *Konchūki* 昆蟲記 (Book of insects, 1922–1931), of which the first volume was translated by Osugi Sakae 大杉榮 (1885–1923) and vols. 2–4 by Shiina Sonoji 椎名其二 (1887–1962), two anarchists of the Taishō period.

1 An earlier version of this essay was previously published in my monograph *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flâneur, and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010) and has been revised for the present volume.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_012

The intriguing questions this study addresses include: Why were anarchists attracted to Fabre's work? Did it ever occur to Lu Xun, who used Fabre's work to comment on the Chinese national character, that science carried special meanings for anarchism? Was Ogai Kamome, intending to ridicule intellectuals like Lu Xun, aware of the complex implications of Fabre's work, including his famous disputes with Charles Darwin on the theory of evolution? This study will explore how texts and ideas traveled in the Euro-Asian context during the 1920s and 1930s, and how certain values were lost during the transaction, while others were accrued during the process.

As Walter Benjamin tells us in "The Task of a Translator," meaning "is in a constant state of flux—until it is able to emerge as the pure language"; a text, having transcended language boundaries, reaches its "afterlife" or "the age of its fame" in a new language and culture (Benjamin 1923). Yet, absorbed in the metaphysical concept of the pure language, he never directly addresses the issue as to why the text is transformed after it crosses the borders of languages. Poststructuralist translation theories, following Benjamin, often emphasize the untranslatability or incommensurability of languages, while addressing this issue from the epistemological perspective. The dissemination of knowledge cannot transcend the limitations and traditions of cultures; the needs and limits of the receiving culture complicate the transaction and often force a transformation in the meaning of a foreign text. In examining the travel of *Souvenirs entomologiques* in the Euro-Asian context during the early decades of the twentieth century, I would like to explore the following issues related to this: Why is a certain text favored and introduced into a new language and culture at a particular historical moment? A translator or a transmitter, with a view to using foreign knowledge to reform the domestic cultural tradition, may choose particular texts that meet this goal. But when foreign knowledge enters into a new language and culture, it may undergo transformation because of the translator's or the transmitter's own cultural agenda. Therefore this study emphasizes the agency of the translator and the receiving culture, which play key roles in the selection, interpretation, and transmission of a foreign text.

Science of Love: A Subject of Independent Value?

Scientific concepts or terms, taken at their face value, were often debunked in a tongue-in-cheek fashion in Shanghai Neo-Sensationist stories when they used these terms to describe relationships between the opposite sexes. To illustrate my point, I will analyze "The Three who Study Antennas," Ogai Kamome's palm-of-the-hand story published in *Furen huabao* 婦人畫報 (Women's

pictorial) in 1934. Originally named Li Zongda 李宗大, he moved from Hong Kong to Canton in 1925. He went back to work in Hong Kong during the 1930s (Ye 2001, 349) and later, with a penname suggestive of the Japanese writer Ogai Mori 森鷗外, became one of the first-generation New Literature writers on the island. Besides contributing to Hong Kong literary journals, he also wrote for journals in Shanghai such as *Xiandai* 現代 (Les contemporains) and *Women's Pictorial*. In 1941 when Hong Kong fell under the Japanese occupation, he went to Guilin and did not come back until 1988. It is said that he was deeply influenced by Horiguchi Daigaku 堀口大学 a Japanese poet during the Taishō period (360–61). Renowned as the first person to translate Paul Morand's works into Japanese, Horiguchi belonged to the coteries of the Japanese literary journals *Myojō* 明星 (The bright star) and *Kamen* 仮面 (The mask).

A regular contributor to *Women's Pictorial*, the organ of the Shanghai Neo-Sensationists during the 1930s, Ogai Kamome attracted a lot of attention from the literary circle in Shanghai with his dandyish didacticism towards women, eclectic style, extraordinary syntactic structure, and free borrowings from Japanese *kanji* in his stories. In "The Three Who Study Antennas," the science of insect behavior is used to interpret amorous human behavior. At first it might seem that it is the human behavior that is being mocked. At closer reading, one cannot help asking the following question: Why does the author draw our attention to insect behavior in this connection? Or rather, is it the insect behavior that is important in the story, or is it the human being who compares it with human behavior that is at issue?

None of these questions can be answered before we know how the story unfolds. According to the narrator, the three protagonists of the story, A, B, and C, are "*Daxue shengtu*" 大學生徒, (university students). The term "*shengtu*" is in fact a direct borrowing from *kanji*. In Japanese it is pronounced as "*seito*" 生徒, meaning high school students. In fact, the Japanese term for university students is "*gakusei*" 學生, pronounced as "*xuesheng*" in Chinese. "*Xuesheng*," however, can refer to either elementary school pupils, high school students, or university students. It is unclear whether the combination of "*daigaku seito*" is an unconscious mistake on the part of the narrator, or a deliberate ridicule of the three progressive Casanovas, who, overenthusiastic about science and sex, have unfortunately only limited knowledge of both.

The narrator tells us that the three students are studying on their own the significance of the sense of touch in the relationship between the two sexes. The beginning of the story discloses clearly that science is the target of ridicule. Similar to a proposition in a scientific treatise, the story starts with a common-sense expression: *tongxing xiangju, yixing xiangxi* 同性相斥, 異性相吸, meaning "members of the same sex repel each other, while those of the

opposite sex attract each other." Then, to describe the fatal attraction between male and female, the narrator uses a semi-scientific metaphor serving as an exposition: When passing by a mountain of magnetic stones, the steel ship, despite its responsibility for the lives of the people aboard, will be sucked into the bottom of the sea and become a submarine forever. Images such as the steel ship, the submarine, and the magnet seem to be out of place in a story about human love. Nevertheless, they call to mind the magnificent power of Western science and excite a sense of awe. Of course, these images are connected with daily experiences in Shanghai, where gigantic foreign ocean liners enter and leave Huangpu harbor every day. It is no wonder the Shanghai Neo-Sensationists like to use ships or ocean liners as the setting for their stories.

The narrator of the story further elaborates on the notion of fatal attraction between the opposite sexes with examples taken from insect behavior:

> The claws of the male diving beetle, equipped with suction cups, snatch relentlessly at the female body for days on end.
>
> The male praying mantis, grabbed and engulfed by the female, never tries to free itself even if its life is in imminent jeopardy.
>
> This is how the sense of touch generates pleasure for the two sexes. (Ogai 1934, 5)[2]

All these descriptions about the mating habits of the diving beetle and the praying mantis are true; one can easily find such descriptions in natural science textbooks. But, the question is, how does one know that "the sense of touch generates pleasure" in insect behavior? This is no doubt projecting human psychology on insect behavior, a practice most noticeable in Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques*.

It is well known that natural history became popular in Japan and China after Darwin's evolutionary theory was introduced into both countries. The establishment of natural history as a discipline in China is a topic worth pursuing, but it is not what this study is concerned with. Rather, I am interested in how this new branch of science inspired ordinary people's imagination, and how it both conditioned the understanding of their lives and led to fresh interpretations of the world they lived in—in this case, love between the opposite sexes. Using examples from natural history, the narrator of the palm-of-the-hand story is telling us how the three students are connecting insect and human behavior through the sense of touch.

2 Translations in this study are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Judging from human beings' closely intertwined bodies in love making, the three students imagine that humans are also born with "suction cups," though "imaginative" (*xing er shang* 形而上, or metaphysical) rather than realistic ones. In addition, they think humans have suction cups all over their bodies, unlike insects, endowed with this equipment on their "claws" only. But, of course, the suction cups on the hands and mouths of a human being have a stronger sucking power than those on other parts of the body. The three students, taking evidence from insect behavior, believe that the attraction between the two sexes comes mainly from the sense of touch, which, because of its independent value, deserves to be treated as a scientific subject.

The narrator takes every opportunity to demonstrate his (and the three students') erudition in scientific jargon. When referring to the sucking power of the mouth, he says "the mouth which the disciples of Freud call the oral erotic," with "Freud" and "oral erotic" written in English, exhibiting the macaronic style typical of the writing of Shanghai Neo-Sensationism.[3] He emphasizes the various "experiments" the three students carry on in order to confirm their theory of "the metaphysical sucking cups" in human bodies: how female nurses taking male patients' temperature are reluctant to let go of their pulses; and how lovers embracing and kissing each other are unwilling to release each other's hands or lips. According to the narrator, the three students' understanding of the sense of touch is "informed by the knowledge of anatomy" (Ogai 1934, 5).

Finally, during the movement to prevent the epidemic of smallpox, the three students have a chance to put their theory into practice. The school authorities ask male students to go to male doctors for vaccinations, and female students to female doctors, because it is feared that the sense of touch between the opposite sexes may lead to dangerous liaisons. A, B, and C, telling the male doctor assigned to them by the school to "get lost," decide to look for a woman doctor in the neighborhood instead. After searching quite a few streets, they find at last a clinic displaying a beautiful name on the sign: Mifei Shitet 靡非時特. But when the doctor with the beautiful name finally appears, the three sitting patiently in the waiting room are stupefied—her entire face is pitted by smallpox.

Upon leaving the clinic after the vaccination, they ask one another, "How did it feel?" The fact is that, during the injection, none of them felt the tactile pleasures supposedly inherent in the contact with the opposite sex. So they come to the conclusion that tactile pleasure is possible only when reinforced by visual pleasure:

3 For a discussion of the "macaronic" characteristic of Shanghai Neo-Sensationist stories, see Peng 2006.

> If there is no visual pleasure, there is no way for tactile pleasure to spring into being, and as a result, the suction cups on human beings' bodies lose their sucking power.
>
> Therefore the sense of touch for the two sexes has no independent value. Even though it is the most sensitive among the five senses, it cannot but ally itself by treaty with the sense of sight. (Ogai 1934, 6)

Thus by way of an "experiment," the three students overturn their previous assumption and arrive at a new scientific theory: the value of the sense of touch lies in its combination with the sense of sight.

Souvenirs entomologiques and Osugi Sakae

The palm-of-the-hand story analyzed above has connotations deeper than those of a mere entertaining story. It tells how a text is transmitted in the Euro-Asian context and how some values are lost and some are added during the transaction. Although no names or books are ever mentioned in the story, it is clear that the parody of the comparison of human behavior with insect behavior and the ridicule of scientism and modernist pursuits point to the vogue of entomology since Lu Xun's advocacy of Jean-Henri Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques* during the 1920s. Lu Xun, who did not know French, read the Japanese translation by two famous anarchists of the Taishō period, Osugi Sakae and Shiina Sonoji, and four other translators.[4] Since it is the argument of this study that the translating agency plays a key role in the practice of cultural translation, it is crucial that we examine the lives and thoughts of Osugi and Shiina as anarchists. What is the connection of anarchism with science and entomology, and was it simply coincidence that the two anarchists, who did not know each other in person, chose the same text to translate? Or, did their identity as anarchists play a decisive role for both to select this particular text to translate: *Souvenirs entomologiques*?

Osugi was murdered with his wife Ito Noe 伊藤野枝 and seven-year-old nephew in the wake of the Great Tokyo Earthquake in September 1923, when the Japanese government cracked down on anarchists, union workers, Chinese, and Koreans. His story illustrates the transnational characteristic of anarchism. He was closely connected with Chinese anarchists such as Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884–1919) and Zhang Ji 張繼 (1882–1947), who learned

4 Besides Osugi Sakae and Shiina Sonoji, the other translators were Washio Takeshi (vols. 5 and 6), Kinoshita Hanji (vols. 7 and 8), Komaki Oumi (vol. 9), and Doi Itsuo (vol. 10).

Esperanto with him while studying and participating in anarchist activities in Tokyo in 1907 and 1908. Advocating the organization of "the alliance of Great East-Asian anarchists," Osugi was looked upon as mentor by many Chinese anarchists (Liuxu 1926).[5] It is known that he went to Shanghai twice. In 1920, in order to participate in the Convention of Far-Eastern Socialists, he left Japan clandestinely. Arriving in Shanghai in October, he stayed there for a month before he returned secretly to Japan. On November 20, 1922, Osugi received a letter from a French anarchist, who invited him to participate in the international anarchist convention to be held in Berlin from December 25 to January 2, 1923. In December 1922, he stole out of Japan again. He arrived first in Shanghai and then moved on to Paris in February 1923. In St. Denis, a suburban area close to Paris, he participated and spoke in a May Day demonstration and was arrested. In June 1923 he was deported back to Japan. His second trip to Shanghai is recorded in detail in his 1923 autobiography, titled "Nihon Dasshutsuki" 日本脱出記 (Escapes from Japan), with his first trip constantly mentioned in passing as a comparison (Osugi [1923] 1974). The complicated maneuvers and quick shifts he made in both trips in order to dodge the policemen tailing him, and the intricate connections of the international anarchists, including French, German, Russian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese anarchists, are as dazzling as scenes and plots in espionage movies.

When news of Osugi's violent death was brought to China, it aroused a great deal of attention among Chinese anarchists. Ba Jin, the famous anarchist and novelist, published a series of works in an anarchist journal *Chunlei* 春雷 (Spring thunder) in 1924, commemorating him as a great martyr (Ba [1924a,b,c] 2000a). In a poem dedicated to Osugi, "Weida de xundaozhe: cheng tongzhi Dashan Rong jun zhi ling" 偉大的殉道者—呈同志大杉榮君之靈 (The great martyr: to the spirit of our comrade Osugi Sakae), the last words of Adolph Fischer (1858–1887), the American anarchist executed after the Haymarket riot in Chicago on May 4, 1886, are quoted in Chinese translation, "Hurrah for Anarchy! This is the happiest moment of my life."[6] An article in the Shanghai anarchist journal *Ziyouren* 自由人 (Free people) in May 1925 mentions that during his trip to Shanghai two years before, Osugi had urged Chinese anarchists to keep close connections with international anarchist organizations.

5 For Osugi's life, see Osugi [1921–22] 1967). For an account of his imprisonment, see Osugi 1919. For English translations see Marshall 1992.

6 Ba [1924a] 2000. The English original of Fisher's last words is provided by the author in a footnote.

Placing a high value on education, anarchists believed science to be the most effective means to overthrow the feudalist past. The value of scientific education was stressed by the Russian Anarchist leader Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) in his 1912 book *Modern Science and Anarchism* (Kropotkin 1912), and embraced by anarchists all over the world. If the connection of anarchism and science is thus a given, why did anarchists such as Osugi and Shiina choose to translate *Souvenirs entomologiques* out of the numerous Western texts in natural science? As I will explain a little later, Osugi could have chosen at the time to buy the books of either Wallace, Élisée Reclus, or even Darwin, which he found in the same bookstore where he discovered Fabre's work. Why did he choose Fabre over the others? One of the initial questions raised in the beginning of this study is why in the practice of cultural translation a certain text is chosen in a particular historical moment. Lydia Liu, analyzing Talal Asad's study of cultural translation, describes the relationship between individual free choice and institutional practices as follows:

> Asad's critique of the notion of cultural translation has major implications for comparative scholarship and for cross-cultural studies such as this one. It warns us that the business of translating a culture into another language has little, if anything, to do with individual free choice or linguistic competence. If we have learned anything useful from Foucault, it should be clear that we must confront forms of institutional practices and the knowledge/power relationships that authorize certain ways of knowing while discouraging others.[7]

Lydia Liu is in fact referring to Foucault in the early period, before the time of *Les mots et les choses* (The order of things). To complicate this issue, I think it is necessary to bring in the later Foucault and reexamine his ideas concerning institutional practices and power relations, and his concept of *un état de domination*. For the later Foucault, the discourse of power is not about clear-cut domination/subjugation, but about a whole network of power relations (*un faisceau de relations de pouvoir*) among individuals, in the family, in a pedagogical relation, or in a political entity, that are mobile and allow the participants to adopt strategies to modify these relations. It is only when power relations lose their mobility and become fixed that a state of domination is found.[8] For

7 Liu 1995, 3. In the quote she comments on Talal Asad's article "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology" (Asad 1986).

8 In "*L'éthique du souci de soi comme pratique de la liberté*," an interview conducted in 1984, Foucault confesses that there has been a shift in his idea concerning subjectivity and truth

Foucault, the essence of knowledge/power relations is the mobility that leaves room for individuals to engage in what he calls "*les pratiques de liberté*" (practices of freedom), which constantly test the limits of power relations and open up grounds for new relationships. I would say, to him power relations are regulated by practices of freedom, which keep domination/subjugation relationships to be a game of continuing checks and balances, or ongoing negotiations.

Here I would like to argue that, in the case of cultural translation, the translating agency or individual free choice, though inevitably defined or conditioned by "forms of institutional practices and the knowledge/power relationships," plays a key role in the selection of a particular text. Such a translating agency, though characterized by an ambivalent nature, is, nevertheless, a decisive factor in the mediated process of cultural translation. In the case of Osugi and Shiina, anarchism, as an anti-institutional trend that believed in science as a panacea for curing the mistakes of human organizations, certainly directed their attention to scientific masterpieces when they were searching for texts to translate. Yet which text in the category of science to choose from was a result of personal choice complicated by historical contingency. I will try to demonstrate this in the following discussion.

Like most anarchists who used their linguistic competence to promote or learn about anarchism, Osugi was a talented linguist. He began studying French at school when he was seventeen. Later, as an active anarchist, he was in and out of prison all his life. According to his 1921 autobiography *Jijoden* (Osugi [1921–22] 1967) each time he was jailed, he managed to learn one language.

---

since the time of *Les mots et les choses* (The order of things; 1966). In contrast to his previous position of "*les pratiques coercitives*" (coercive practices), as in psychiatry or the penitentiary system, his lectures at Collège de France began to develop the concept of "*les pratiques de soi*" (practices of self) and "*les pratiques de liberté*" (practices of freedom), which allow individuals to modify power relationships. To distinguish the difference between liberation and practices of freedom, he says, "La libération ouvre un champ pour de nouveaux rapports de pouvoir, qu'il s'agit de contrôler par des pratiques de liberté." (Liberation opens up a ground for new power relationships, which must be regulated by practices of freedom.) The idea is that power relations are mobile, except in extreme cases such as psychiatry or the prison system, where mobility is totally blocked. (Of course, one can argue that, even in psychiatry and the prison system, power relations are not totally rigid.) To Foucault, this concerns how the human subject enters into *les jeux de vérité* (games of truth), and, furthermore, practices of freedom and games of truth are closely related to ethics. According to him, freedom is the ontological condition of ethics, while "l'éthique est la forme réfléchie que prend la liberté" (ethics is the form freedom takes when informed by reflection). See Foucault 2001. For English translation, see Foucault 1997. Here I am altering somewhat the English translation in Rabinow's volume.

That was how he learned Esperanto, Italian, Russian, and Spanish. He read the major works of Kropotkin and Bakunin in prison. In the preface to *Jijoden*, he discloses that he read Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques* when he was serving time in Toyotama 豊多摩 Prison in Nakano from December 1919 to March 1920. He was a diligent translator. In addition to anarchist treatises such as Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (Kropotkin 1902), he translated quite a few masterpieces in science, including Charles Darwin's *Origins of Species* in 1914 and the first volume of Jean-Henri Fabre's ten-volume *Souvenirs entomologiques* in 1922. Entitled *Konchūki*, the ten volumes of the Japanese translation were published by Sōbunkaku 叢文閣 between 1922 and 1931.

According to the "Yakusha no jo" 訳者の序 (Translator's preface) included in the first volume of the Sōbunkaku translation (Osugi [1922] 2005), how Osugi ended up bringing *Souvenirs entomologiques* with him into Toyotama prison to read was due to both his long-time intention to read Fabre's work and a result of luck. Through an episode he recounts in the preface, we are able to have a glimpse of how the working of individual agency is complicated by historical contingency. For years he had wanted to read *Souvenirs entomologiques*, but since he had been out of prison for a while, he did not have the leisure to do it. When he was detained in the temporary prison (*mikekkan* 未決監) in Ichigaya 市ヶ谷 before entering Toyotama prison, he remembered that he had seen three volumes of Fabre's work in the Sansaisha bookstore 三才社 in Kanda 神田, a district famous for used books stores. So he wrote to Sansaisha from prison asking for those volumes, but they were sold out. While he was out on bail, the day just before he entered Toyotama prison, he went to the Maruzen 丸善 district to look for travelogues to bring with him to prison to while away the time. He found *La nouvelle géographie universelle* (1892) by Elisée Reclus (1830–1905), a friend of Kropotkin's and fellow anarchist; Darwin's *What Mr. Darwin Saw in His Voyage Around the World in the Ship "Beagle;"* and Alfred Russel Wallace's *Island Life: Or the Phenomena and Causes of Insular Faunas and Floras, Including a Revision and Attempted Solution of the Problem of Geological Climates.* Then, out of pure chance, he spotted Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques*. That was how he managed to obtain it to read in prison.

The choice of the edition to translate is where individual freedom is most clearly shown. The edition of *Souvenirs entomologiques* Osugi Sakae translated was the 1914 illustrated edition (édition définitive illustrée). While mainly using the first volume of this illustrated edition, he consulted at the same time the English translation by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos that had been published beginning in 1912. By the time Osugi began his translation, Teixeira de

Mattos had already published 12 volumes of his translation of Fabre. Osugi's original plan was to use his English translation, which collected in one volume insects of the same species originally dispersed in different volumes of Fabre's work. He thought this special arrangement might be more convenient and useful to the reader. But when he saw the definitive illustrated edition in French, he liked the illustrations so much that he abandoned the original plan (Osugi [1922] 2005). The first volume of the illustrated edition he translated corresponds to Teixera de Mattos' *The Hunting Wasps* in 1915 in its entirety,[9] plus part of *The Mason-Bees* (Les chalicodomes) in 1916 and *The Sacred Beetle and Others* (Le scarabée sacré) in 1918. Osugi mentions in the same preface that before he translated the first volume of Fabre's work, he had written an unpublished article titled "*Kagaku no shijin*" 科学の詩人 (The poet of science), which is the key element we should take into consideration when discussing Osugi's predilection for Fabre's work over other scientific works.

After Osugi was murdered, Shiina Sonoji, an anarchist in spirit, continued to translate volumes two to four. A Waseda 早稲田 University teacher from 1923 to 1927, he was favorably inclined towards anarchism. A native of Akida 秋田, he attended Waseda University after high school. He quit and went to the United States to study journalism at the University of Missouri, Columbia, in 1908. After graduation he worked as a journalist in St. Louis and Boston for a few years, but found the job unrewarding. From 1914 on he studied agriculture at Amherst College. The following year he cultivated a farm near St. Louis, but it suffered from a poor harvest. In 1916, longing to understand the agricultural problems in France, "the country of Romain Rolland," he moved to Paris. Unable to find a job, he wrote to the English poet Edward Carpenter, who introduced him to his Parisian friends. Finally Shiina was able to work at a farm in the Pyrénées run by Madame Gruppi, Carpenter's friend, where he met his future wife Marie Ravaillot. He visited the Free University of Brussels in 1920 with Marie, who gave birth to their son Gaston there. In 1922 he brought his wife and son back to his hometown in Japan. His elder brother, now the head of the family, built an annex to his own house to serve as Sonoji's French classroom, while Sonoji and his family lived on Horii Ryōho's (1887–1938) farm nearby, which he helped to run. The management of the farm having failed, he moved his family to Tokyo in 1923 and taught in the French department recently established by Yoshie Takamatsu 吉江喬松 (1880–1940) at Waseda University. In the meantime he started a free seminar at home, teaching peasants' literature, French literature, and philosophy with his friends Yoshie and

9 The hunting-wasps include species such as le Cerceris buprestide, le Cerceris tuberculé, le Sphex à ailes jaunes, and le Sphex languedocien.

Ishikawa Sanshirō 石川三四郎, (1876–1956). During the chaos of the Great Earthquake when the authorities arrested dissidents such as anarchists and union workers, both Shiina Sonoji and Ishikawa Sanshiro were temporarily detained by the police (Ninagawa 1996).

Shiina started translating the second volume of *Souvenirs entomologiques* in 1924. Intending to concentrate on the job, he told Yoshie he wanted to resign from teaching. Yoshie disagreed but reduced his teaching load instead. Thus Shiina managed to finish translating three volumes in three years, but eventually gave up translation as well as teaching in 1927 in order to return to France, because Marie, unbearably homesick, had already gone back with Gaston the previous year. In Paris, working as a clerk at the Japanese Association in order to make a living, he also wrote articles on French agriculture and social history for journals in Japan. When Paris fell under the German occupation, he worked in the Japanese Naval Service at the Japanese embassy. During World War II he worked for the Vichy Government, but was sympathetic towards the Jews. Responding to the radio broadcasting of *La France Libre*, he secretly helped French Jews escape from the Nazis. After the war was over, he was held as an enemy in the Drancy detention center in 1945. As a result of the intervention of Paul Langevin (1872–1946), director of *l'École de Physique et de Chimie Industrielles*, who testified that he had been a friend of the resistance and saved many lives during the war, he was released, with his health severely impaired by life in the detention center (Ninagawa 1996).

After returning from the detention center Shiina fell ill and was hospitalized. His wife, probably in poor health herself, moved to the house of their son, who was working in a factory and had his own family. Afterwards, Shiina lived alone. He returned to Japan once more in 1957. His brother having died during the war, he lived in his nephew's home in Yokohama for a while, and then moved several times before he moved to the neighborhood of Waseda University, where he taught private French lessons. But, disappointed with his former students, who urged him to enter a senior citizens' home, he went back to France with his brother's granddaughter Michi in 1960. After Michi learned French and found a job in Paris, he lived alone. In 1962 he died in a hospital in Paris (Ninagawa 1996).

Besides *Konchūki*, in 1925 Shiina Sonoji also translated the 1913 biography of Fabre by Georges Victor Legros, titled *La Vie de J.-H. Fabre, naturaliste, par un disciple* (Life of J.-H. Fabre, naturalist, by a disciple) (Legros 1913a). The title of Shiina's translation is *Fāburu no shōgai, kagaku no shijin* フアブルの生涯科学の詩人 (Life of Fabre, poet of science) (Shiina 1925), combining the original French title with the title of the 1913 English translation by Bernard Miall, *Fabre, Poet of Science* (Legros 1913b). It is likely that when Shiina translated

it, he consulted both the English and the French versions. In the first chapter titled "*Intuition de la nature*" (intuition of nature), Legros describes how for Fabre "poetry" (*la poésie*) can be found everywhere in nature, and declares that he was born above all a poet, a poet by instinct and vocation (*il est né surtout poète; il l'est d'instinct et de vocation*) (Legros 1913a, 2–3). Hence the English title of the book: *Poet of Science*.

To the Japanese anarchists, followers of the Russian Anarchist leader Peter Kropotkin, both Charles Darwin and Jean-Henri Fabre were great scientists. Osugi Sakae translated the works of both. But to Kropotkin, Fabre, because of his cosmological orientation, would not be a "scientist" in the strictest sense. I will go into more depth about this in the last section of this study.

Lu Xun and *Konchūki*

The Japanese have long had an unusual liking for Fabre's work. Besides the Sōbunkaku edition, two other complete translations started publication in 1930. One was the twenty-volume Iwanami Bunko 岩波文庫 edition (1930–1952) translated by Yamada Yoshihiko 山田吉彦 and Hayashi Tatsuo 林達夫, and the other, the ten-volume ARS (Arusu) edition in 1931, translated by Iwata Toyoo 岩田豊雄 (1893–1969). After World War II, the Iwanami edition was revised twice into modern Japanese, in 1958 and 1993. In November 2005, yet another twenty-volume edition began publication by Shueisha 集英社, with Okumoto Daisabrō 奥本大三郎 as translator. One cannot overlook the uniqueness of the Japanese infatuation with *Souvenirs entomologiques*, considering that there is not even one complete edition in English to date, and the first complete edition in Chinese did not appear until 2001 (Fabre 2001). In what lies the attraction of Fabre's account of insect behavior for the Japanese? The tradition of natural history in Japan no doubt played a major role. Because of the limited space of this study, I will not dwell on the topic here. Let us ask the same question about Lu Xun, who managed to collect the whole set of the Sōbunkaku edition one volume after another within a long period of seven years, a period long enough for anyone to give up a passing fancy. What sustained his unwavering interest in Fabre's work?

The history of how Lu Xun managed to collect the complete set is amazing in itself. As recorded in his diary, he bought the sixth Sōbunkaku edition (1924) in bookstores in both Beijing and Shanghai. The first purchases were made in Dongya Bookstore 東亞書店 in Beijing in 1924. He later moved to Amoy 廈門, to Canton, and then to Shanghai in 1927, the year of the Nationalist government's party purge. The rest of the volumes were bought in Uchiyama

Bookstore 内山書店 in Shanghai starting in October 1927 and continuing to November 1931.[10] Even during the last year of his life, he bought the English translation of *Souvenirs Entomologiques* consecutively by mail from England, planning to translate it with his brother Zhou Jianren 周建人. But the plan never saw light and he died of tuberculosis in 1936.

Uchiyama Bookstore, in business between 1917 and 1945, served as a bridge between Chinese and Japanese intellectuals at the time, and Japan as a vector of Western thought to China is best illustrated when we examine the history of the bookstore. Its owner Uchiyama Kanzō 内山完造, (1885–1959) established the Uchiyama Bookstore in the Japanese concession in 1914. Starting in 1920, with the help of the Shanghai Association of Christian Youth, the bookstore sponsored a summer seminar for years, inviting professors from Japanese universities to give talks. With the regular "*mantankai*" 漫談会 (random talk meetings), the bookstore had already become a salon for Chinese and Japanese intellectuals. After Lu Xun moved to Shanghai in 1927, he and Uchiyama became instant friends, and their friendship lasted until Lu Xun's untimely death in 1936 (Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 2000).

During the 1930s, when the Nationalist government tightened its control and cracked down on Communist activities, Uchiyama Bookstore became a haven for leftist intellectuals. Lu Xun and his family took refuge there several times, once hiding out for more than a month in March 1930. When Lu Xun's brother Zhou Jianren and his family were arrested by the Japanese navy in March 1932, it was Uchiyama who intervened and effected their release. Because Uchiyama's constant intervention for the sake of his Chinese friends aroused strong suspicion from the Japanese military, he had to return temporarily to Japan for his own safety in April 1932. After the war Uchiyama sold the bookstore and was deported to Japan. During a trip back to Shanghai in 1959, he died of a stroke. He was buried in the International Cemetery there, where his wife Mikiko, as well as Lu Xun, rest in peace.

The books Lu Xun bought at Uchiyama Bookstore cover vastly diverse topics, including the complete works of Japanese authors such as Kuriyagawa Hakuson 厨川白村 and Akutagawa Ryunosuke 芥川龍之介, the twelve-volume *Sekai bijutsu zenshyu* 世界美術全集 (Complete works of world arts) published by Heibonsha 平凡社, and Japanese translations of Marxist literature. His collection of books, more than four thousand titles and altogether

10 Lu Xun bought the rest of the set on October 31 of 1927, February 15, May 2, and December 23 of 1930, and January 17, February 3, September 5, September 29, November 4, and November 19 of 1931. Cf. F. Wang 2002, 29–42.

more than fourteen thousand volumes, are mostly housed in the Lu Xun Museum in Beijing today.

A true book lover, Lu Xun's particular liking for *Konchūki* can be witnessed by the article he wrote on the subject. In his 1925 essay "Chunmo xiantan" 春末閑談 (Random talks in the late spring), Lu Xun talks about Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques*, but he does not seem to be aware that the translator of the Japanese version was a famous anarchist. In the beginning of the essay, Lu Xun compares a legend about the digger wasp recounted by elderly people in his hometown with a passage in Fabre's work. According to Lu Xun, the elders believed that

> since digger wasps are all females, they need to catch beetles to be their foster children. One wasp would seal a beetle in her hive, while she herself would flap her wings and strike at the outside of the hive, wishing at the same time, 'Grow like me, grow like me.' After a few days—I don't remember how many, maybe seven times seven, or forty-nine days—the beetle eventually becomes a wasp." (Lu 1925, 4–5)

This is, in fact, an imaginative elaboration on "mingling you zi, guoluo fu zhi" 螟蛉有子, 果蠃負之 (The beetle's son is raised by the digger wasp), a simple sentence in *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry), which was later recorded in a little more complicated form in *Soushenji* 搜神記 (Book of gods).

In the same article Lu Xun continues to say that, even if some experts of ancient texts have already pointed out that digger wasps are able to lay eggs, and that the beetles are kept in the beehives to feed the wasp's larvae, the Chinese people would rather believe the foster-children version, which sounds legendary and more interesting than reality. He then compares this version with the scientific finding in Fabre's work, not without his usual touch of sarcasm on the Chinese national character:

> Foreigners are so annoying, with their scientific crap and all that. Even though science does bring many surprises, it disturbs our fond dreams as well. Since the great French entomologist Fabre's close observation, the fact of the beetle serving as feed for the larvae has been proved. In addition, the digger wasp is not just an ordinary killer, but a cruel one—an anatomist with great knowledge and skill. She knows the organization and function of the beetle's nerve system. With a magic, poisonous sting, she gives its motor nucleus simply one thrust, leaving it in a paralyzed state, neither living nor dead. She then lays eggs on its body, and seals it in the beehive. Because the beetle is in a state neither living nor dead,

> it can neither move nor decompose. Therefore all the time her children are hatching, the feed remains as fresh as the day when it was caught. (Lu 1925, 4–5)

Thus Lu Xun, as he is always wont to do, takes this opportunity to comment on the national character of the Chinese people as shown in the juxtaposition of these two versions of the story of the digger wasp: Chinese, so complacent in their rural pleasures and traditional interpretation of nature, stubbornly turn their backs on science, unaware of the progress foreigners have made in scientific studies beyond their imagination.

In addition, Lu Xun dwells on the digger wasp's art of anesthesia and further turns it into an attack on the relentless control of the ruling class. He recounts a dialogue between himself and a Russian gentleman, M. E, concerning the possibility of a medicine invented by scientists for the government to control its people:

> Three years ago I became acquainted with M. E from Russia, who was hypersensitive. One day out of the blue he said with great concern, "I hope future scientists will not go so far as to invent some magic medicine, which, if injected into a person, will make him content to do service and to be a war machine forever." ... He didn't know that the great emperors, courtiers, and saints and their disciples in our country had already shared this golden world ideal long ago. ... In order to make them obey the emperor's will, the people have to be kept as if dead; in order to make them contribute food to feed the rulers, they have to be kept alive. If you want them to be ruled, they should be like dead people; if you want them to feed you, they have to be living. ... even though rulers had tried their best with all kinds of paralyzing methods on the people, no method has been as effective as that of the digger wasp. (Lu 1925, 3–4)

"Random Talks in the Late Spring" was published in April 1925. The "M. E from Russia" referred to in this passage no doubt was Vasilii Eroshenko (1890–1952), the Russian poet who had been in China off and on from 1921 to 1923, probably a year altogether. Before he came to China, he had lived in Japan from April 1914 to 1916 and then from July 1919 to 1921 (Fujii 1989, 4), and became known there as "the blind Russian poet" (Aizawa 1982, 89–90). He became associated with anarchists during his stay in Japan, and was finally deported from the country because of his socialist activities.

During Eroshenko's stay in China, he lived with Zhou Zuoren's family in Beijing for four months, while teaching Esperanto at Beijing University (Zhou

1922). Eroshenko had published children's stories and three collections of poems in Japanese.[11] Lu Xun published translations of some of his stories into Chinese, for instance, "A Spring Night' s Dream" (Chunye de meng 春夜的夢) in October 1921 (Lu 1921) and "The Tragedy of a Chicken" (Xiaoji de beiju 小雞的悲劇) in September 1922 (Lu 1922b). The latter was the only story that Eroshenko wrote in Beijing. After Eroshenko left China in 1922, Lu Xun published an article titled "Ya de xiju" 鴨的喜劇 (The comedy of ducks) in December of that year, describing Eroshenko as a man who "maintained that each person should labor to feed himself; while women could raise animals, men should work in the field" (Lu 1922a, 83). In "Random Talks in the Late Spring," the hypersensitive "M. E from Russia," who worries about the ruling class wanting to paralyze the people in order to have a total control over them, does fit the image of Eroshenko as a socialist activist who often participated in May Day activities.

After the "M. E from Russia" episode in the essay, Lu Xun continues to criticize "a special intellectual class," namely people with degrees from abroad, who are also feeding on the people. He concludes that the Chinese government, or any other government, can deprive people of the freedom of gathering and speech, but cannot prohibit them from thinking. If the rulers could cut off people's heads and still keep them at service and use them as war machines, Lu Xun says, it would be easy to distinguish rulers from slaves, officials from people, and noblemen from underdogs. The result would be that no revolution is possible, and "a lot of telegrams would be saved" (Lu 1925, 4–5). From Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques* to ruminations on the Chinese national character, and then to the critique of the ruling class, Lu Xun does not seem to be particularly interested in science *per se*, but rather in science as a weapon of cultural critique.

Jean Henri Fabre and Charles Darwin

Lu Xun's account of the episode of the digger wasp paralyzing the beetle is taken from Chapter 5, Volume 1, of *Souvenirs entomologiques*, where Fabre refers to the digger wasp by its scientific names, *Cerceris* and *Hyménoptère* (*guêpe* in common French). This chapter, titled "Un savant tueur" (A master killer) in the original, is titled "Koroshi no meijin" 殺しの名人 (A master killer) in Osugi

11 The three poetry collections are *Yoake mae no uta* 夜明け前の歌 (Songs before dawn), *Saigo no tameiki* 最後の溜息 (The last sigh), and *Jinrui no tameni* 人類の為めに (For mankind). See *Aizawa* 1982, 89.

Sakae's translation (Osugi 1924, 97–113. It recounts how the wasp subjects the beetle (*Coléoptère* in French) to anesthesia with a scientific skill far surpassing what an anatomist is able to do in a laboratory.

According to Fabre, the digger wasp needs to stock in an underground cell a certain amount of beetles for its larvae to feed on, which are hatched from the eggs laid on the heap of feed (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 165–173.[12] To accomplish this, there are three major tasks for the digger wasp: 1) Since the larvae eat only the viscera of a living insect, how can one paralyze the beetle for an extended period of time, from three weeks to one or even two months, without killing it? 2) How is the nerve apparatus of the beetle constructed, and above all, where is the nodal point to inject the paralyzing agent so that the effect will be instant and prolonged? 3) Out of the numerous kinds of beetle, which kinds are easy victims of the digger wasp's poison?

Fabre's comment is that this is an art beyond human capability:

> Devant pareil problème alimentaire, l'homme du monde, possédât-il la plus large instruction, resterait impuissant; l'entomologiste pratique lui-même s'avouerait inhabile. Le garde-manger du Cerceris défierait leur raison. (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 1:166–7)
>
> (Facing the same alimentary problem, a human being with the best education would be powerless; even the sensible entomologist would have to admit that he is inept. The digger wasp's art of food preservation would challenge their reasoning).

To compare humans with insects, while maintaining that the instinct upon which insects behave is far superior to the most advanced human technical know-how, is one of the prevailing agendas throughout Fabre's book. He imagines a group of anatomists and physiologists as renowned as Marie Jean Pierre Florens (1794–1867), François Magendie (1783–1855), and Claude Bernard (1813–1878), unable to accomplish without years of research the tasks the digger wasp can handle by "instinct" in an instant. The tasks are greater than can be imagined. At first, the digger wasp's delicate sting is dealing with the beetle equipped with solid breast armor. Although the joints of the beetle are vulnerable, they are not the parts it should be operated on, because a sting on them would induce only local paralysis. It is crucial to direct the sting to the

12 This edition collects the original ten volumes of Fabre's work into two volumes. Since all participants in the *Souvenirs entomologiques* story referred to the original ten volumes, in the text of this study, for the sake of discussion and clarity, I use the original volume numbers.

nerve-centers in order to bring about an instant general paralysis. The nerve-centers of all mature insects consist of three ganglions, to which two passages are possible for the wasp's delicate sting to get through. One passage is located in the joint between the neck and the prothorax, bearing the first pair of legs, while the other, in the joint between the prothorax and the thorax, or between the first and second pairs of legs. The former will not do, because it is too far away from the ganglions; it is the latter where the digger wasp should plunge its dart. Fabre marvels by uttering a rhetorical question: "Par quelle docte intelligence est-il donc inspiré?" (By what learned intelligence is it thus inspired?) (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 168).

The difficulty is not only where to plunge the sting, but also which kinds of beetle to choose. For all kinds of beetles, the ganglions are more or less grouped together. The ganglions of some kinds are almost contiguous, while those of some other kinds are completely welded together. The more blended the ganglions are, the more animated the beetles are, and therefore, the more vulnerable. These are the kinds that should be the digger wasp's easy prey. With a single plunge of its sting, they will be paralyzed instantly. But which are they? Will the high science of a physiologist like Claude Bernard teach us the right choices? No. Without looking into the archives in his library, it is impossible for him to find which kinds of beetle have ganglions blended together; even if he looked in the library, he will not know instantly where to find the information he wants.

Fabre finds the answer in Emile Blancard's (1816–1900) article published in the journal *Annales des sciences naturelles* (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 169).[13] According to his analysis, the *Scarabéiens* are too big for the wasp to attack or carry to the cell for storage. Some other kinds of beetle such as the *Histérien* live in filth and will never be sought by the digger wasp, which is always neat and clean. The *Scolytien* is too small in size. Among the numerous kinds of beetle, only the jewel beetle (*Bupreste*) and the snout beetle (*Charançon*) fit the need of all eight kinds of digger wasp. To Fabre, one should be amazed by the fact that these two kinds, so different in appearance, resemble each other only in the structure of their nerve-centers, something unobservable from their looks:

13 In note 1 Fabre provides the following reference: *Annales des sciences naturelles*, 3e série, tome V. He was referring to the collection of the journal volumes from 1824 to 1895 (Paris: Chez Béchet). This journal, published in Paris from 1824 to 2000, was founded by Victor Audouin (1797–1841), Jean-Baptiste Dumas (1800–1884), and Adolphe Brongniart (1801–1876).

> Une certaine ressemblance intérieure, c'est-à-dire la centralisation de l'appareil nerveux, telle serait donc la cause qui, dans les repaires des divers Cerceris, fait entasser des victimes ne se ressemblant en rien pour le dehors. (170)
>
> (A certain inner resemblance, that is to say the centralization of the nerve structure, is therefore the cause for the victims, so unlike in appearances, to be heaped in diverse digger wasps' dens.)

So how does the digger wasp manage to discern at an instant the right kinds of beetle as the easy victims of the paralyzing agent, a mystery that may take a scientist years of observation and study to resolve? Fabre attributes the digger wasp's marvelous ability to "un savoir transcendant" (a transcendent wisdom), saying it can be proved that

> [L]'Hyménoptère a, dans les inspirations inconscientes de son instinct, les ressources d'une sublime science. (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 170) (The digger wasp has, in the unconscious inspiration of its instinct, the resources of a sublime science.

His method to prove this is by way of an experiment, injecting drops of ammonia with the sharp point of a metal pen into the beetles' nerve centers. The effects of experimenting with the kinds of beetles equipped with welded ganglions and with those with ganglions grown apart differ enormously. With the first group, the effect is instant, with all movements suddenly ceased. The paralysis can last from three weeks to two months, while the beetle is alive, its viscera as fresh as those of a living insect. With the second group, on the other hand, the inoculation causes violent convulsions and struggles before the insect slowly calms down. But after a few hours or one or two days of rest, it resumes its usual movements and vitality, as energetic as before. Fabre's conclusion is that the digger wasp's instinct of choosing the right beetles for feed is equal to what the wisest physiologist and the best anatomist can teach. He closes the chapter with the following remarks:

> Vainement on s'efforcerait de ne voir là que des concordances fortuites: ce n'est pas avec le hasard que s'expliquent de telles harmonies. (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 173) (In vain does one try hard to see nothing but fortuitous concord here; such great harmony cannot be explained away by chance.)

I have tried to analyze this chapter in such great length and detail in order to show that, despite all his meticulous scientific observation and careful

experiments, Fabre's interpretation of the digger wasp's instinct is limited by his presumption that everything with such harmony and perfection has to have a designer—God. This presumption, known as "natural theology," had been prevalent since the eighteenth century. The famous historian Peter J. Bowler explains in the following words the implications of this theory:

> Traditional accounts of Darwin's discovery tend to imply that little attention was being paid to the idea of evolution by other biologists during the decades leading up to 1859 [the year Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was published]. It is assumed that almost everyone accepted a fairly straightforward creationism and that the vast majority of biologists went out of their way to argue that the adaptation of each species to its environment proved the existence of a wise and benevolent Creator. William Paley's *Natural Theology* of 1802 is seen as a classic exposition of this 'argument from design'—the claim that species are designed by an intelligent Creator in the way that a watch is designed and built by a watchmaker. (Bowler 1990, 17–8)

Fabre was very much in the tradition of "natural theology," believing in the superiority of animal instinct, the manifestation of divine wisdom, to reason, created by the human brain. According to him, the lower animals' instinct of survival, seemingly guided by reason, is in fact the illumination of divine spirit. With the first volume of *Souvenirs entomologiques* written in 1879, the one biologist he ridicules often for attributing reason to animal behavior is Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), Charles Darwin's grandfather. For instance, in chapter 9 of volume 1, titled "Les hautes théories" (The high theories), Fabre recounts an episode in Lacordaire's "Introduction à l'entomologie" in which Erasmus Darwin, witnessing a sphex cutting off the head, the abdomen, and then the wings of a fly before it manages to carry the victim to its nest, concludes that the sphex dismembers its victim so that the unnecessary parts will not hamper it during its flight, and that nothing but reason can explain the series of activities engaging the efforts of the sphex. Fabre thinks it impossible. Since all the members in the species of the sphex capture only the praying mantis (*mante religieuse* in French, or *orthoptère*), how could the sphex in England be so aberrant as to catch the fly, which is the same size as the sphex? Erasmus Darwin was certainly not looking at a sphex. Then, what exactly did he see (Bowler 1990, 405)?[14] He thought the hero must have been a wasp (*guêpe* in

14 In chapter 10, volume 2, Fabre provides a note, confessing that later Charles Darwin wrote him and said his grandfather was actually referring to a wasp (*guêpe* in French) in this episode of his book, *Zoonomia*. Fabre regrets that, reading Lacordaire, who translated the

French) rather than a sphex. Then, after elaborate, graphic descriptions, which I will not repeat here, of how he observes several species of wasp, including the commune wasp (*la guêpe commune*, or *vespa vulgaris*) and the frelon wasp (*la guêpe frelon*, or *vespa crabo*), kill and dismember their victims, he concludes it was a commune wasp attacking a big fly (*Elistalis tenax*) that Erasmus Darwin describes in his book.

There is a fundamental question to which Fabre wants to provide the answer: why does the commune wasp dismember the big fly before it carries the victim to its nest? According to Erasmus Darwin, it is because the wings and legs of the fly would hamper the wasp's flying trip back to the nest. But Fabre's answer is simple: because the discarded parts have no nutrition value for the commune wasp's larvae; only the thorax of the big fly is useful for feed. Is the commune wasp, in its ingenious act, guided by reason, as Erasmus Darwin so believes? Of course not, according to Fabre. He maintains,

> Loin d'y voir le moindre indice de raisonnement, je n'y trouve qu'un acte d'instinct, si élémentaire qu'il ne vaut vraiment pas la peine de s'y arrêter (Far from seeing the least sign of reason, I find it nothing but an act of instinct, so elementary that it is really not worth dwelling on). (Bowler 1990, 203)

One can easily see that Fabre and Erasmus Darwin, observing the same natural phenomenon, arrive at different interpretations. It is the position of natural theology to maintain that science alone cannot arrive at "truth"; it is revealed in divine providence that shines through the surface phenomenon.

Natural theology, prevalent from the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, was based on the beliefs that God's existence can be proved by observing nature and through personal interpretation rather than theological definition. These notions carried through to theosophy, a new religious trend that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831–91), the founder of the Theosophical Society which was based in New York and later spread to India, Ceylon, London, and Paris, constantly argued against scientists such as Charles Darwin, Thomas Huxley (1825–95), and John Tyndall (1820?–93). She says in her 1877 book *Isis Unveiled*:

> Reason being a faculty of our physical brain, one which is justly defined as that of deducting inferences from premises, and being wholly dependent

English word "wasp" into "sphex," he was duped into believing that an entomologist as renowned as Erasmus Darwin could have mistaken a wasp for a sphex.

> on the evidence of other senses, cannot be a quality pertaining to our divine spirit. The latter *knows*,—hence all reasoning which implies discussion and argument would be useless....
>
> Reason, the outgrowth of the physical brain, develops at the expense of instinct—the flickering reminiscence of a once divine omniscience—spirit.... Reason is the clumsy weapon of scientists—intuition the unerring guide of the seer. (Blavatsky 1877, 305, 433)

Madame Blavastky, likewise born of Russian aristocratic parents, shared the religious views of Count Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), who spurned Voltaire's *la raison* and embraced Rousseau's *le coeur* (Matual 1992, 23). Tolstoy believed that the inner spirit of man, or conscience, alone "constitutes the link between man and God (12)" and militated against the notion of the Church as the mediator and only authority of God's knowledge. He did not believe that Christianity was the sole possessor of the truth and that other religions such as Buddhism, Islam, and Confucianism were in error. Neither did he believe that the state is a legitimate institution, going so far as to say that "The law of man is nonsense.... I will never serve any state anywhere.... All governments are equal with regard to good and evil. The highest ideal is anarchy" (1–23). He was against the Hegelian theory of historical progress, observing that "Nothing so impedes freedom of thought like faith in progress" (13). Madame Blavatsky's theosophical teachings borrowed a great deal from Tolstoy's views. She defends his position in the article titled "Is Theosophy a Religion?" published in *Lucifer*, a journal she established in London from 1887 to 1891:

> Count Leo N. Tolstoy does not believe in the Bible, the Church, or the divinity of Christ; and yet no Christian surpasses him in the practical bearing out of the principles alleged to have been preached on the Mount. And these principles are those of Theosophy....
>
> The modern Materialist insists on an impassable chasm between the two [religion and science], pointing out that the "Conflict between Religion and Science" has ended in the triumph of the latter and the defeat of the first. The modern Theosophist refuses to see, on the contrary, any such chasm at all.... Theosophy claims to reconcile the two foes. (Blavatsky 1888, 177–87)

On the one hand, both Tolstoy and Madame Blavatsky distrusted the Church as an institution and believed in the inner light of man and universal brotherhood. On the other, both embraced "primitivism" in religion and disliked the crass materialism represented by science. Although there is no explicit

record of Fabre's attitude toward the Church, we know that he and his family were once evicted from their home in Avignon because the Church was displeased with his free courses taught to young girls (more will be said about this later in this study). We also know that he was critical of contemporary scientists and scientific theories. Evolution, one of the "hautes théories" Fabre mocked and associated with "progress," and the idea of transmutation are criticized throughout *Souvenirs entomologiques*. In Chapter 9 of Volume 2, titled "Les fourmis rousses" (The redheaded ants), discussing why the pigeon transported to a long distance knows where to regain its columbary, and the swallow where to find its nest across the ocean when returning from its winter quarters in Africa, Fabre challenges the opinions currently held among "les évolutionnistes." He asks a key question: whatever guides this special sense possessed by animals and insects, be it eyesight, meteorology, or magnetism, why are human beings deprived of such a unique quality? After all, "C'était une belle arme et de grande utilité pour le *struggle for life*" (it would be a beautiful weapon and of great service to the struggle for life) (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 392). If human beings were endowed with such a unique quality, wouldn't it be great progress? According to evolutionists such as Charles Darwin and his grandfather before him, Fabre says, all animal life, including the human being, originates from a unique cell and has been transmutating throughout the ages, with the better gifted favored and the less gifted perishing. Then how does it happen that this marvelous sense, shared by the lower species, has not left a single trace in the human being, the culminating point of "la série zoologique" (the zoological scale)? He says:

> Si la transmission ne s'est pas faite, ne serait-ce pas faute d'une parenté suffisante? Je soumets le petit problème aux évolutionnistes, et suis très désireux de savoir ce qu'en dissent le protoplasme et le nucléus. (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 392)
>
> (If the transmission [of such a great quality] is not made, wouldn't it be through the lack of a sufficient blood relationship? I submit this small problem to evolutionists, and desire to know what the protoplasm and the nucleus would say about this.)

In writing his book on instinct and insect behavior, Fabre was no doubt responding to the theory of evolution, which, denying the existence of a miraculous maker, was heresy to many learned men like him at the time. Indeed, in *On the Origin of Species*, Darwin takes up the position of a defender of science, constantly reminding the reader not "to enter into the realms of miracle, and

to leave those of Science" (Darwin [1859] 1998, 316).[15] He addresses the issue of instinct, habit, and natural selection in Chapter 8, titled "Instinct." For instinctive actions performed by animals or people without knowing for what purposes they were performed, Darwin believes that "A little dose of judgment or reason, as Pierre Huber expresses it, often comes into play, even with animals low in the scale of nature (318). Admitting instinct to be inherited, Darwin emphasizes that it can be lost with disuse, and can be generated and acquired as a habit because of selection, as is the case with domestic animals. He maintains that because there are variations in the same species in nature, "natural selection might have secured and fixed any advantageous variation" (330). His conclusion is that what seem to be instincts in animals may be interpreted as the results of natural selection:

> Finally, it may not be a logical deduction, but to my imagination it is far more satisfactory to look at such instincts as the young cuckoo ejecting its foster-brothers,—ants making slaves,—the larvae of ichneumonidae feeding within the live bodies of caterpillars,—not as specially endowed or created instincts, but as small consequences of one general law leading to the advancement of all organic beings,—namely, multiply, vary, let the strongest live and the weakest die. (360)

In contrast, Fabre believed that insect behavior is constant and formulaic, not subject to change and variation. When put in a different situation, the instinct that guides an insect unerringly to accomplish its daily routine may lead to its death. He thought he was objective, but did not realize that his conclusion was in fact guided by his theory or preconceptions (D. Wang, 2002, 72–4). Fabre and Darwin were different not only in their scientific views, but in origin. Unlike Darwin—a gentleman naturalist born into a wealthy gentry family—Fabre was a self-made man, born into a family without means in Saint-Léons-du-Lévezou, a small village in Provence. He managed to get a solid training in Latin, Greek, history, and literature at the university chapel in Rodez, where his parents moved in 1833 to make a living by establishing a café. He won the scholarship of l'École Normale (Normal School), passed the *baccalauréat* examinations by learning algebra and analytic geometry on his own, and received the *licence* in sciences, mathematics, and physics (Delange

15 Darwin's book title begins with "On the Origin of Species" in the first five editions. It is in the sixth edition, published in 1872, that "On" is dropped.

1999, 24–7).[16] While teaching at the Lycée d'Avignon (Avignon High School) in 1855, he presented a thesis for the doctorate in sciences in Paris (28–32). With the income of a high school teacher and honoraria from private lessons, Fabre, raising a family of five children (there would be eight altogether), was struggling to make ends meet. It was the writing of textbooks, such as *Leçons élémentaires de chimie agricole* (Elementary lessons of agricultural chemistry, 1862), and popular science books, such as *La terre et le ciel* (Earth and heaven, 1865), that increased his income. In 1866 he received from the Academy of Sciences the Thore Prize with a 3000 francs award, which, almost twice his annual salary, finally relieved him from financial strain, at least temporarily (51).[17] From 1866 to 1873, he served as curator of the Requien Museum. In 1879, with the copyright from *Souvenirs entomologiques*, he managed to purchase l'Harmas, the house and garden in Sérignan du Comtat, where he would live from the following year to the end of his life (164–9).

Fabre was raised in the countryside in the center of France. Yves Delange, his biographer, calling him "ce provincial, paysan et érudit" (this provincial, peasant and erudite), points out that all his life Fabre maintained his Languedoc accent and dressed like a peasant from Provence. Two famous incidents in his life illustrate well how much at odds he was with Parisian ways of thinking and manners. In June of 1865, in order to solve the problem of the silkworm diseases that were ravaging *le Midi* (southern Europe) and the Mediterranean countries, Louis Pasteur (1822–95), the administrator and director of scientific studies of l'École Normale Supérieure in Paris, came to *le Midi*, and was advised to visit the great entomologist in the region to learn about the life of the silkworm. During this encounter, when Pasteur, an expert on fermentation and wine-making, said to Fabre, "Montrez-moi votre cave" (Show me your wine cellar), the latter was embarrassed beyond measure. His "cave" was nothing but a demijohn of a dozen liters put on a shabby kitchen chair (Delange 1999, 47–9)!

16 In Fabre's time there were only three kinds of diploma to be obtained: *baccalauréat*, *licence* (at the third year at the university), and *doctorat* (at the eighth year at the university).

17 In the text of Delange's book, it is said that Fabre was awarded the Gegner Prize in 1866, but at the end of the book in the list of "Diplômes, titres et distinctions" (Delange 1999, 340–1) it is indicated that in 1866 he was awarded the Thore Prize. From Delange's preface to *Souvenirs entomologiques*, it is clear that Fabre won the Thore Prize with 3,000 francs in 1866. Fabre's annual salary at Avignon High School was 1600 francs from 1853 on. His salary at the Collège d'Ajaccio was 1800 francs, but it was cut to half in 1850. When he taught at Carpentras as school teacher, his salary was less than 900 francs. With the copyright he received for *Souvenirs entomologiques*, he bought l'Harmas at 7200 francs and returned to John Stuart Mill 3000 francs, which he had borrowed after being driven out of his home in Avignon. Cf. Delange 1989.

Of course, after this unfortunate encounter, there was no further communication between the two scientists.

Another incident revealing Fabre's simple modesty was his meeting in 1867 with Victor Duruy (1811–94), the Minister of Public Instruction. The latter came to visit him for his research on garancine, a pigment extracted from the plant called *la garance*, which was a rich source of income for both agriculture and industry in Vaucluse and Provence. When the minister asked him if he needed financial aid to buy better equipment for his laboratory, Fabre asked simply for "une poignée de main" (a handshake) with the minister (Delange 1999, 43; 54). In 1868 Duruy appointed him *chevalier de la légion d'honneur* (Knight of the Legion of Honor). After the decoration, he was brought to the Tuileries to have an audience with the Emperor. But to him, the entourage of the society of distinguished scientists tending the Emperor, with so much attention and acuity, was like "le monde des insectes" (a world of insects). The "chambellans" (gentlemen in charge of services in the Emperor's chamber), in their shorts and shoes with silvery buckles, were "des scarabées" (the beetles) in his eye (57). This sarcasm towards high society in fact carries through to *Souvenirs entomologiques*, in which great physiologists and anatomists of the time are often mocked.

For any man who aspired to make his way in the scientific world, the first place to go would be Paris, where the scientists associated with each other and formed a network. But all his life Fabre kept a discreet distance from Paris and the scientific circles, satisfied in his idyllic world in Provence. Those he had close ties with were people of the same origin and mind, for instance, the poet and prose writer Joseph Roumanille (1818–91), who was the initiator of the renaissance movement of the provençal language and literature. Another long-term friend he cherished was the British philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill (1806–73), who spoke for the rights of peasants, workers, and women in the Parlement (Delange 1989, 61–3). Besides sympathizing with peasants and workers, Fabre himself took an interest in women's education. In 1871 the Fabres were evicted from their home in Avignon, because the free night courses Fabre taught to young girls infringed on the interests of the Church: up to then, the education of young girls had been the exclusive prerogative of the Church. The whole issue was connected with Victor Duruy's reform of the educational system starting in 1867. The innovation of adult education and popular instruction was thwarted when Duruy stepped down from the Ministry of Public Instruction two years later (58–61).

Fabre's mockery of contemporary scientists in the Parisian establishment was in line with his stance as a *Provençal* in the idyllic tradition. Charles Darwin, a gentleman naturalist in the British establishment and a member of

the Academy of Sciences, was certainly the representative of the "high society" that Fabre was highly suspicious of. In addition, Fabre's opposition to the theory of transmutation was deep-rooted. He was totally averse to Darwinian theories, referring to them as "l'inanité des brutales théories darwiniennes" (the inanity of the brutal Darwinian theories) (Delange 1999, 43). The thing to note is that, even though Fabre was critical of evolutionists such as Erasmus and Charles Darwin, the latter showed considerable respect for the French master's keen observation of insects, referring to him as "that inimitable observer M. Fabre" in Chapter 4 of the 4th edition of *On the Origin of Species* in 1866 (Darwin [1859] 1998, 118).[18] The two of them in fact carried on a correspondence for some time. On January 3, 1880, Fabre sent Darwin a copy of the first volume of *Souvenirs entomologiques*, published in the previous year, no doubt hoping to know the opinion of the renowned English evolutionist, who was his senior by fourteen years, while the latter thanked him in a letter dated January 6. After reading it, Darwin wrote on January 31, telling Fabre that Erasmus Darwin, his grandfather, instead of talking about a sphex, was referring to a wasp cutting off the wings of a fly. Fabre immediately made remedy by putting in a note in Chapter 10, Volume 2 of *Souvenirs entomologiques*, apologizing for his previous mistake resulting from reading a French translation, which renders "wasp" (*la guêpe* in French) into "sphex." Their correspondence carried on for some time before Darwin died in 1882.

The "dialogue" between Fabre and Darwin, two scientists separate in their ways of interpreting the same natural phenomena, discloses a fundamental issue concerning the antagonism between science and religion since the eighteenth century in Europe. To the Japanese anarchists who translated both Fabre and Darwin, and to the Chinese literary men who took both to be champions of science, the opposition between the two probably never entered their minds.

A Traveling Text

This study is about the story of a traveling text, *Souvenirs entomologiques*. Originating in the countryside of France at the turn of the last century, it traveled to the great metropolis in Japan during the early 1920s Taishō period when anarchists were being persecuted, and then through Japan to the Chinese treaty port in the turbulent years of civil strife aggravated by Japanese invasion in the

18 In the first three editions of *On the Origin of Species*, Darwin quoted Fabre but did not refer to him as "that inimitable observer Mr. Fabre." Cf. Peckham 1959, 174.

late 1920s and early 1930s. At a time of international political turmoil, it traveled across the boundaries of nations and languages, connecting the minds of men who did not know each other in person. Most important, it exemplifies how European concepts and ideas traveled to China with Japan as the vector, a topic not yet sufficiently researched.

Not only did this text travel across the borders of nations, but it traveled across the boundaries of disciplines: from natural theology in France to natural science in England, to social sciences (anarchism) in Japan, and then to literature in China. The interdisciplinary movement of this particular text was made possible because of the concept of science as progress, prevalent in Europe, America, and Asia during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. But a concept or an idea, as it moves from a certain culture of a particular historical period to another culture and period, will inevitably be transformed or take on new meanings, as Edward Said says in "Traveling Theory":

> There are particularly interesting cases of ideas and theories that move from one culture to another, as when so-called Eastern ideas about transcendence were imported into Europe during the early nineteenth century, or when certain European ideas about society were translated into traditional Eastern societies during the later nineteenth century. Such movement into a new environment is never unimpeded. It necessarily involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those at the point of origin. This complicates any account of the transplantation, transference, circulation, and commerce of theories and ideas. (Said 2002, 196)

For a concept such as science as progress, the "point of origin" is hard to pinpoint. But if we consult Kropotkin's words in *Modern Science and Anarchism*, it would be clear that, to him, this concept originates from the mid-nineteenth century, when both natural and social sciences began a revolutionary phase. He believes that the inductive method of science (developed by the French Encyclopaedists in the eighteenth century) alone is sufficient in the study of religions, the moral sense, and history of thought, while "metaphysical conceptions" such as the "immortal soul," "imperative and categorical laws" inspired by a superior being, meaning Kantian theory, together with the "purely dialectic method," meaning Hegelian theory, are losing their grip to "mechanical facts." In Kropotkin's mind, the thinkers of the eighteenth century such as the Encyclopaedists "endeavored to explain the whole of the universe and all its phenomena in the same way as naturalists," forerunners of Charles Darwin. According to him, even though science met with a temporary setback

"when the reactionaries [meaning 'keepers of tradition'] got the upper hand" during the early half of the nineteenth century, it finally flourished after "the revolutionary year of 1848" (Kropotkin 1912, 1–17). Kropotkin, against all political, social, and religious organizations, maintains that it is impossible for science and religion to coexist. He says in Chapter 3 of his book:

> In science ... We can already read the book of Nature, which comprises that of the development of both inorganic and organic life and of mankind, without resorting to a Creator, or to a mystical vital force, or to an immortal soul. (16)

Written while he was in exile in London in 1912, *Modern Science and Anarchism* expresses Kropotkin's view of Anarchism as a branch of modern science, using the inductive/deductive method of science to study human society and therefore concordant with the idea of progress. To him the ultimate development of modern science is Darwin's theory of evolution. There seems to be a contradiction between his theory of "mutual aid" among animals and Darwin's "struggle for existence." But Kropotkin himself did not think so, because he believed that Darwin changed his position twelve years after he wrote *On the Origin of Species*. In his 1902 book *Mutual Aid: a Factor of Evolution*, Kropotkin comments on this (Kropotkin 1902, iiv). In his mind, Darwin, when he was writing *Descent of Man* twelve years after *On the Origin of Species*,

> ... already took a far broader and a more metaphorical conception of the struggle for existence than that of a hard struggle between all the individuals within each species, which he had taken in his first great work in order to prove the importance of natural selection for the origin of new species. In his second great work, "The Descent of Man," he wrote, on the contrary, that those species which contain the greatest number of mutually sympathetic individuals have the greatest chance of surviving and of leaving a numerous progeny, and thus he entirely upset his first conception of the struggle for life. (Kropotkin 1912, 31)

Convinced that Darwin was on his side when he wrote *Descent of Man*, Kropotkin in fact constructs a revision of the theory of the struggle of existence. He praises Darwin as "the most renowned naturalist of our own times," and acknowledges that "the whole science of organic beings (Biology) felt the effect of his work." The most important contribution of Darwin, according to him, is to have worked out his theory of natural selection in the struggle for life "on a scientific basis," and to "account for the wonderful accommodation

of most of them [the existing species of plants and animals] to their surroundings from the action alone of natural causes, without the intervention of a guiding power" (Kropotkin 1912, 99).

A scientist himself who made valuable contributions to geology, geography, chemistry, and economics, Kropotkin appreciated Darwin's position as a scientist who endeavored to find natural causes for natural phenomena, "without the intervention of a guiding power." An entomologist such as Jean-Henri Fabre, who attributes animal instinct to "divine illumination," would certainly not be his choice of a true scientist. The fact that he never talked about Fabre when he discussed scientific development in the nineteenth century is ample proof of that.

Kropotkin's anarchist followers Osugi Sakae and Shiina Sonoji, sharing his faith in science and education, were social activists and writers with no scientific training, seeing no distinction between Darwin and Fabre as scientists. Lu Xun, though once a medical student in Japan, was more concerned with Chinese people's national character and the injustice of the ruling class than with science when reading Osugi Sakae's translation of Fabre. Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren, on the other hand, was impressed by Fabre's writing style, which manages to combine "poetry and science." In his 1923 article, Zhou refers to the chapter titled "L'Harmas"[19] ("huangdi" 荒地 in Zhou's Chinese, meaning an uncultivated land) in the first volume, in which Fabre describes how people criticize the fluency of his writing, which to them indicates the shallowness of his thought and the lack of scientific value in his book. Fabre retorts that he is writing not only for scholars and philosophers interested in the problem of instinct, but for teenagers, so that they will learn to love natural history. That is why, while tightly guarding the truth, he has discarded the "scientific prose" ("prose scientifique" in the original) of scholarly writing, which is most often as incomprehensible as one of the North American Indian dialects ("quelque idiome de Hurons" in the original) (Fabre [1879–1909] 1989, 319–25). Zhou says, "Even though we are not in a position to downplay the usual scholarly style, when we read his writing combining poetry and science in such a harmonious way, we cannot help respecting and loving him more" (Zhou 1923, 3).

19 "L'Harmas" is a word in *Provençal*, a Romance language spoken in southeastern France. Fabre explains in the text of his book: "Les lieux d'opération étaient une plaine inculte, caillouteuse, un harmas comme on dit dans le pays." (The places of operation were an uncultivated plain, covered with pebbles, an "harmas," as one says in the country.) It is the name of the house and garden Fabre purchased in Sérignan du Comtat in 1879. He lived there from the following year to the end of his life. Cf. Delange 1999, 165.

Zhou confesses that he has read a few volumes of *Souvenirs entomologiques* in English translation and the Japanese translation of the first volume. He is mostly thrilled by the affinity between human beings and insects:

> Looking at the fate of our own kind in novels and plays, we are deeply moved. Now seeing the tragicomedy in the entomological world, as if listening to the news of our distant relatives—indeed very distant relatives—we are equally moved, and are inspired to many thoughts. (3)

Zhou's words represent the typical reaction of Chinese literary men faced with science books at the time. Like his brother Lu Xun, he is inspired by humanitarian concerns rather than scientific curiosity. Given this, Ogai Kamome's ridicule of the three enthusiastic college students in his story, intending to promote scientific studies by comparing insect behavior and human behavior in amorous acts, does not seem particularly out of line.

When we consider the fate of *On the Origin of Species* in China, the picture may be clearer. Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921), who translated Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* into *Tianyanlun* 天演論 (On evolution) in 1898, represented evolution as a warning to the Chinese people that China should reform; otherwise she would perish in the struggle for existence among nations. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole of China, already beset by foreign invasions and constant failures in diplomatic negotiations, was immediately shaken by this gloomy prospect. "Wujing tianze shizhe shengcun 物競天擇, 適者生存," the Chinese terms Yan coined to translate the Darwinian scenario "struggle for existence, natural selection, and survival of the fittest," became catchwords indicating China's perilous situation in world politics in the generations to come. In contrast, when Ma Junwu's 馬君武 (1881–1940) translation of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was published in 1919, the impact was nowhere near that of Yan Fu's *Tianyanlun*. It was as if, since the Chinese Darwinists had already said so much about him, what Darwin himself had to say did not matter much any more.

Works Cited

Aizawa, Genshichi 相沢源七. 1982. *Sōma Kokkō to Nakamuraya Saron* 相馬黒光と中村屋サロン (Sōma Kokkō and Nakamuraya Saron). Sendai-shi: Hōbundō.

Asad, Talal. 1986. "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology." In Clifford and Marcus, eds., 141–64, *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ba, Jin [Pei Gan 芾甘]. [1924a] 2000. "Weida de xundaozhe: cheng tongzhi Dashan Rong jun zhi ling" 偉大的殉道者——呈同志大杉榮君之靈 (The great martyr: to the spirit of our comrade Osugi Sakae). *Chunlei* 春雷 (Spring thunder) no. 3 (May 1). In *Ba Jin Quanji* 巴金全集 (Complete works of Ba Jin), 18: 63–4. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

———. [1924b] 2000. "Dashanrung zhuzuo nianpu" 大杉榮著作年譜 (Bibliography of Osugi Sakae). *Chunlei* 春雷 (Spring thunder) no. 3 (May). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin* 18: 65–8.

———. [1924c] 2000. "Dashan Rong nianpu" 大杉榮年譜 (Biography of Osugi Sakae), *Minzhong* 民鐘 (The people's tocsin) 1:9 (Aug. 1). In *Complete Works of Ba Jin*, 18: 70–6. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

Benjamin, Walter. 1923. "The Task of a Translator." Trans. Harry Zohn. In Marcus Bulock and Michael W. Jennings, eds., vol. 1 (1913–1926): 253–63, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings.* Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Blavatsky, H.P. 1877. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology.* 2d ed. New York: J. W. Bouton.

———. 1888. "Is Theosophy a Religion?" *Lucifer* (November.): 177–87.

Bowler, Peter J. 1990. *Charles Darwin: the Man and His Influence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Darwin, Charles. [1859] 1998. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.* 4th ed. New York: The Modern Library.

Delange, Yves. 1989. "Préface." In Jean-Henri Fabre, *Souvenirs entomologiques: études sur l'instinct et les mœurs des insects*. Ed. Yves Delange. Tome 1, 10–24. Paris: Robert Laffont.

———. 1999. *Jean Henri Fabre, l'homme qui aimait les insects.* (Fabre, the man who loved insects). Arles: Actes Sud/Babel.

Fabre, Jean Henri. [1879–1909] 1989. *Souvenirs entomologiques: études sur l'instinct et les mœurs des insects.* Tome 1. Paris: Robert Laffont.

———. 2001. *Kunchongji* 昆蟲記 (Book of insects). Trans. Liang Shouqiang et al. 梁守鏘等. Beijing: Huacheng chubanshe.

Foucault, Michel. 1997. "The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom," Trans. Robert Hurley et al. In Paul Rabinow, ed., 146–65, *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth.* London: Allen Lane.

———. 2001. "L'éthique du souci de soi comme pratique de la liberté." In *Dits et écrits, 1954–1988,* 2: 1527–48. Paris: Gallimard.

Fujii, Shōzō 藤井省三 1989. *Eroshenko no toshi monogatari: 1920 nendai Tōkyō, Shanhai, Pekin* エロシェンコの都市物語——1920年代東京、上海、北京 (Eroshenko's City story: 1920s Tokyo, Shanghai, and Beijing), 4–49. Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō.

Kropotkin, P. 1902. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution.* London: William Heinemann.
———. 1912. *Modern Science and Anarchism.* London: Freedom Press.
Legros, G.-V. 1913a. *La Vie de J.-H. Fabre, naturaliste, par un disciple.* (Life of J.-H. Fabre, naturalist, by a disciple). Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave.
———. 1913b. *Fabre, Poet of Science.* Trans. Bernard Miall. New York: The Century Co.
Liu, Lydia. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
Liuxu 柳絮. 1926. "Zhuzhang zuzhi Dadongya wuzhengfuzhuyizhe dalianmeng" 主張組織大東亞無政府主義者大聯盟 (Advocacy of the Alliance of Great East-Asian anarchists). *Minzhong* 民鐘 (The people's tocsin) no. 16 (Dec. 15): 2–3.
Lu, Xun [Mingzhao 冥昭]. 1922a. "Ya de xiju" (The comedy of ducks). *Women's Journal* 8, no. 12 (December): 83–4.
———, 1925. "Chunmo xiantan" 春末閒談 (Random talks in the late spring). *Mangyuan* 莽原 (Wasteland) no. 1 (April 24): 4–5.
———, trans. 1921. "Chunye de meng" 春夜的夢 (A spring night' s dream). *Chenbao fukan* 晨報副刊 (Literary Supplement to the Morning Post) (October 22): 1–2. Originally written by Vasili Eroshenko.
———, trans. 1922b. "Xiaoji de beiju" 小雞的悲劇 (The tragedy of a chicken), *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 (Women's journal) 8, no. 9 (September 1): 85–7. Originally written by Vasili Eroshenko.
Marshall, Byron, trans. 1992. *The Autobiography of Osugi Sakae.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Matual, David. 1992. *Tolstoy's Translation of the Gospels: A Critical Study.* Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press.
Ninagawa,Yuzuru 蜷川譲. 1996. *Pari ni shisu* パリに死す (Death in Paris). Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten.
Ogai, Kamome 鷗外鷗. 1934. "Yanjiu chujiao de sange ren" 研究觸角的三個人 The three who study antennas). *Women's pictorial*) no. 21 (September): 5–6.
Osugi, Sakae 大杉榮. 1919. *Gokuchūki* 獄中記 (Prison memoirs). Tokyo: Imamura Takashi.
———. [1921–22] 1967. *Jijoden* 自叙伝 (Autobiography). Tokyo: Sekkasha.
———. [1922] 2005. "Yakusha no jo" 訳者の序 (Translator's preface). In *Konchūki* 昆蟲記 (Book of insects), 5–14. Tokyo: Meiseki Shoten.
———. [1923] 1974. "Nihon dasshutsuki" 日本脱出記 (Escapes from Japan). In Osawa Masamichi, ed., *Osugi Sakae shū* 大杉榮集 (Selected works of Osugi Sakae), 297–327. Tokyo: Chikuma Shoten.
———, trans. 1924. *Konchūki* 昆蟲記 (Book of insects). 6th ed. Tokyo: Sōbunkaku. Originally by J.H. Fabre ([1879–1907] 1989).
Peckham, Morse, ed. 1959. *The Origin of Species by Charles Darwin: A Variorum Text.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Peng, Hsiao-yen 彭小妍. 2006. "Langdangzi meixue yu yuejie: xinganjuepai zuopin zhong de xingbie, yuyan yu manyou" 浪蕩子美學與越界: 新感覺派作品中的性別、語言與漫遊 (Dandyism and border crossing: gender, language, and travel in Neo-Sensationism). *Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy*, no. 28 (March):121–48; for revised versions in English and Chinese, see Peng, 2010 and 2012.

———. 2010. *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flâneur, and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris*, 131–62. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2012. *Langdangzimeixue yue kuawenhua xiandaixing: yijiusanling niandai Shanghai, Dongjing, ji Pali de langdangzi, manyiuzhe, ji yizhe* 浪蕩子美學與跨文化現代性: 一九三〇年代上海、東京及巴黎的浪蕩子、漫遊者與譯者 (Dandyism and transcultural modernity: The dandy, the flâneur, and the translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris), 231–87. Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi.

Said, Edward. 2002. "Traveling Theory." In Moustafa Bayoumi and Andrew Rubin, eds., *The Edward Said Reader,* 195–217. New York: Vintage Books.

Shanghai Lu Xun Museum 上海魯迅紀念館, ed., 2000. *Pioneers of the Friendship Between China and Japan.* Shanghai: Renmin Mmeishu chubanshe.

Shiina, Sonoji 椎名其二, trans. 1925. *Fāburu no shōgai, kagaku no shijin* ファアブルの生涯: 科学の詩人 (Life of Fabre, poet of science. Tokyo: Sōbunkaku. Originally by Georges Victor Legros (1913a).

Wang, Daw-hwan 王道還. 2002. "Yijiuyiwunian shiyue shiyiri *Kunchongji* zuozhe Fabre shishi" 一九一五年十月十一日《昆蟲記》作者法布爾逝世 (October 11, 1915—Death of Fabre, author of *Souvenirs entomologiques*). *Kexue fazhan* 科學發展 (Scientific development) no 358 (October.): 72–4.

Wang, Furen 王富仁. 2002. "You Fa-bu-er 'Kunchongji' yinfa de yixie sikao" 由法布爾《昆蟲記》引發的一些思考 (Some thoughts inspired by Fabre's Souvenirs entomologiques), part 1. *Lu Xun yanjiu yuekan* 魯迅研究月刊 (Lu Xun research monthly) no. 3: 29–42.

Ye, Hui 葉輝. 2001. *Shuxie fucheng: Xianggang wenxue pinglun ji* 書寫浮城: 香港學評論集 (Writing the floating city: collection of articles on Hong Kong literature). Hong Kong: Qingwen shuwu.

Yu, Zhi 愈之. 1921. "Jieshao man shiren Ai-luo-xian-ke" 介紹盲詩人愛羅先珂 (An introduction to the blind poet Eroshenko). *Literary Supplement to the Morning Post* (October 20): 1.

Zhou, Zuoren 周作人. 1922. "Huai Airoxianko Jun" 懷愛羅先珂君 (Missing Mr Eroshenko), *Literary Supplement to the Morning Post* (November 7): 4.

———. 1923. "(2) Fabre *Kunchongji*" 〈二, 法布耳《昆蟲記》〉 (Book of insects by Fabre, part 2). *Literary Supplement to the Morning Post* (January. 26): 3.

CHAPTER 11

From Poetic Revolution to Nation-(Re)building: Vicissitudes of Modernity in Modern Chinese Poetry

Sebastian Hsien-hao Liao

Translating Trauma: Modernity as Fantasy and Tradition as Symptom

Although it is often noted that the birth of modern Chinese poetry coincided with the May Fourth movement, poetry's conflicting position as not only the movement's vanguard but also its target has received relatively little critical attention. This paradoxical status of poetry in the May Fourth movement not only established the path of modern poetry in the Chinese context but also signals an interesting continuity in the role of poetry in modern times that originated during the Modernist revolution in the West, continued through the May Fourth vernacular movement, and endured all the way to the Nativist movement in Taiwan in the 1970s. This continuity, however, underwent surprising transformations that corroborated the discourse of multiple or alternative modernities.

Basically following Charles Taylor's postulation of a "cultural theory" of modernity, the emphasis of my discussion is placed mainly on the fact that Chinese modernity, like all other modernities, is a product of the procedure of "creative adaptation."[1] Furthermore, the perspective of multiple or alternative modernities debunks the long-held belief that the West has an inherent superiority in terms of grasping the mandate of modernity. Modernity is no longer treated as "a single, continuous project" that has its roots exclusively in

1 In his renowned essay "Two Theories of Modernity," Charles Taylor finds that there are two ways of understanding modernity. One is a "cultural theory" and the other an "acultural" one. Echoing the use of "culture" in anthropology, the first believes that there is a plurality of cultures, each with its own characteristics, and therefore understands the transformations brought about by Western modernity "in terms of the rise of a new culture" which is distinct not only from non-Western cultures, but also from its own predecessor culture (Taylor 2001, 172). The second, by contrast, "describes these transformations in terms of some cultural-neutral operations. In other words, every culture in the world is supposed to undergo the same kind of development. A paradigm case would be the one that "conceives of modernity as the growth of reason" (172–3).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_013

"north-west Europe" and is "thoroughly cleansed of non-European influences" (Kamali 2006, 14–20). Moreover, even the growth of economic strength on which the rise of Western modernity was predicated has also been revealed to be "the result of luck, of curious concatenations of circumstances, rather than any innate European or British merit or ability" (22). By ridding ourselves of what Bernard Yack calls the "fetishism of modernities," which plots modernity as "a coherent and integrated whole" (Yack 1997, 7–8), and realizing that different modernities take different shapes and routes depending on "specific cultural premises, traditions, and historical experiences" (Eisenstadt 2002, 2), we are now able to see modernity as multiple, with Western modernity as only one of the many modernities rather than the absolute origin of all other modernities.

The idea of alternative or multiple modernities immediately calls attention to the conspicuous phenomenon of translation in the period under discussion, not only because in periods of "extensive cultural trans-orientation" translation naturally plays a high-profile role (Macura 1990, 70), but also, and more fundamentally, because culture as a whole is actually a constant process of translation (Paz 1992, 154). For translation from the guest language/culture always already involves that which was previously translated from the host language/culture into the guest language/culture.[2] Moreover, "there is no 'in-itself' or 'for itself' within cultures, because they are always subject to intrinsic forms of translation" (Bhabha 1990, 209–10). Understanding translation in such terms reminds us of what Bhabha calls the "interstitial," "the indeterminate temporality of the in-between, that has to be engaged in creating the conditions through which 'newness comes into the world'" (Bhabha 1994, 227). In this connection, then, modernity is construed as always already deferred/differed on the one hand and always already "translated" on the other. What is important from the perspective of alternative/multiple modernities is therefore not only how modernity is creatively adapted but also how Western modernity itself has never been a pure and uncontaminated origin in itself. Thus, while how Western modernity is adapted and appropriated by non-Western cultures naturally occupies the focus of our attention, the fact that Western modernity

2 The substitution of "guest" for "source" and of "host" for "target" was borrowed from Lydia Liu since indeed in the case of translation from the metropolitan languages, this usage can more clearly foreground the postcolonial problematic (Liu 1995, 25–7). A case in point for this constant translating back and forth is the traveling of "modern Chinese terms." According to Masini, of the nearly 900 such terms identified as borrowed from Japanese *kanji* expressions, up to one fifth have been further proven as invented in Chinese first by Protestant missionaries and their native collaborators, and were borrowed by the Japanese in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Masini 1993, 157–223.

has itself been influenced by non-Western cultures since its inception necessarily complicates that focus and enables as well as empowers an alternative perspective.

On the other hand, understanding translation as "creative enrichment" should not in the least suppress the fact that translation also involves some kind of unbalanced power relation (Liu 1995, 21–2; Chakrabarty 2000, 42–6; Bery 2007, 6–22). Around the beginning of the twentieth century, the translation of the texts of Western modernity throughout the world was more often than not instigated by a traumatic encounter with the culture(s) of colonial powers. Thus, a postcolonial interrogation of translation reveals two often coexisting intertwining impulses in terms of dealing with this trauma—on the one hand, the impulse to submit to Western modernity, and on the other the impulse to confront it—and sees the latter as the postcolonial possibility of reclaiming and resuscitating resistance by defying the tendency to define changes produced by the encounter with Western modernity as "transition" and instead calling for pluralizing and plotting them as "confrontations" (Spivak 1988, 197). The degree of the relative success or failure of the project of translating modernity seems to depend on how successfully a society impacted by Western modernity chose the latter over the former.

Obviously, what motivated the Chinese translation of modernity on such a large scale was none other than the trauma caused by the encounter with Western modernity. This encounter was the defining moment in the development of modern Chinese poetry—and for that matter of modern Chinese culture in general. It was such a moment precisely because it was a moment of trauma. The impact of modernity left the Chinese nation in tatters and led to calls for an urgent endeavor to resurrect the nation in a new form, a re-stitching of the cracked Lacanian Other. But the traumatic moment is always a "missed encounter" (Lacan 1998, 55) and therefore is always retroactively constructed as an opaque spot, or "stain," on the Other (Zizek 1989, 75). In Lacanian terminology, the opaque spot is the "symptom" in which the Real that erupted at the traumatic moment and was foreclosed by the fantasy returns again and again to haunt the subject/victim and disrupt the fantasy (Zizek 1991, 72–3). As a result, it has since become a moment to which the Chinese keep returning and by means of which they constantly (mis)recognize themselves. This unconscious drive has persisted all the way through the Nativist movement in Taiwan, where how "Chinese-ness" should negotiate with modernity continues to be a vexed question.

As the crisis of national form entails the adoption of a new form (modernity in this case), the opaque spot is the excess produced by the re-organization of the old form by the new form. To put it simply, the opaque spot embod-

ies that which cannot be assimilated by the latter—the Chinese "tradition." On the other hand, if Western modernity as the new Other is just a fantasy constructed by the Chinese in order to make over the original cracked Other, the fantasy can be debunked only by following Taylor in re-conceptualizing modernity as "culture" so that the inherent incompleteness of the new Other can be revealed.[3] And this symptom could be mitigated only when the subject comes to terms with this revelation and eventually, in Lacanian terms, to "identify with the symptom"—tradition—as our only consistency (Zizek 1989, 74–5). Otherwise, the symptom continues to haunt us like an unrelenting ghost. In this light, Chinese negotiation with modernity presents an especially tortuous and apparently unending path where tradition has been undergoing constant re-organization and re-formation.

Poetry as Revolution: The Ambiguous Role of Poetry in the Time of National Crisis

Since it was believed that the opaque spot, representing traditional culture, which was understood as backwardness and decadence, prevented China from developing an indigenous modernity in the first place, the May Fourth intellectuals considered cultural reform crucial to tackling the national crisis (Lin 1979). Given the urgency of that crisis, many embraced the idea of a "cultural revolution" of some kind, one that would provide the ultimate solution to that crisis: wiping out the symptom.[4] This revolution began with the *Qieyinzi* 切音字 (the movement to write the Chinese language with an alphabet or syllabary) and the *Wuxu bianfa* 戊戌變法 (the Hundred Days' Reform movement in the late Qing) and witnessed its first culmination in the May Fourth movement. This series of events was aimed at reinvigorating Chinese society with Western modernity by changing China at the roots so that cultural enlightenment could be universally implemented.[5] Significantly, the reception of

3 Please refer to Note 1.

4 For an insightful discussion of how the formation of the discourse on "revolution" (*geming*) created an ineluctable fate for modern Chinese history, see J. Chen 2000.

5 Wang Zhao 王照, who in 1900 invented the Mandarin Alphabet (*guanhua zimu* 官話字母), stressed that "the nation's level of strength and prosperity lies not in a few elites but in the everymen, who are good at their skills, hard working on their posts and doing their job" (Wang 1957, 2–3). Lao Naixuan 勞乃宣, who expanded on and perfected Wang's invention, observed in 1908 that "in order to redeem China, there is no other choice but to offer universal education; in order for education to be universal, there is no other choice but to adopt an easy script; in order to create an easy script, there is no other choice but to adopt

Western modernity during the May Fourth period manifested itself above all in a literary gesture.

When Hu Shi advocated switching from writing in classical Chinese to vernacular Chinese, his purpose was apparently to draw the literati closer to the general population. But the ultimate purpose of using the vernacular in literature was to facilitate the modernization of China instead of simply improving access to literature as such by the general population (Hu 1975b, 23–5). Although literature in general was used as a tool for general cultural enlightenment, it is nevertheless curious that Hu's argument should seem to hinge on poetic reform.[6] As a result, while modern poetry, like all forms of modern art, was born as a byproduct of the larger cultural revolution, it also came to epitomize that same revolution, as poetry was thought to embody modernity precisely in its momentous adoption of the vernacular language. Nevertheless, if we examine the trajectory of this cultural revolution, we find that poetry's role in it is rather ambiguous.

The cultural revolution that utilized literature as its vanguard in fact began earlier than the May Fourth movement, with Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 advocacy in 1899 of the "Revolution in the Realm of Poetry." But while Liang perceptively diagnosed that classical poetry was no longer able to represent contemporary reality (Liang 1941, 22: 189–91), he failed to offer an appropriate solution. Unable to realize the restrictedness of the classical form, he put sole emphasis on the need of poetry to accommodate contemporary content without having to change its form: "But a poetic revolution should aim at reforming its spirit rather than its form" (Liang 1998, 63). Throughout his involvement in the "Revolution in the Realm of Poetry," however, Liang never directly linked the revolution with either politics or culture in general. It was most likely the generic concerns (that poetry's art was closely related to formal characteristics) that prevented Liang from challenging traditional poetic forms (Yang 2002, 264) and hence from charging poetry with the mission of general enlightenment.

Liang's outright equation of literary reform with facilitation of enlightenment came a few years later when he proposed a contemporary reshuffling of the relative ranking of literary genres. He now argued that "the novel is the best

---

the alphabetical system" (Lao 1969, 1–2). Hu Shi 胡適 went a step further by arguing the need to bridge the gap between classical verse for elite purposes and the easy script for laymen, a need which the former two were unable or unwilling to see. See Hu 1975b, 12–23.

6 The idea of a vernacular revolution began with an improvised debate on poetic language in 1915 between Hu and his fellow Chinese students when they wrote poems to bid each other farewell. For a detailed description of this debate, see Hu 1975a, 51–86.

of all literary genres" because it is "in the human nature ... to love the novel better than other genres" (Liang 1941, 10: 7–8). With that, he also decided that the novel was more suited to the task of nation building. In 1902, in his famous article "Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi" 論小說與群治之關係 (On the relationship between the novel and the governing of society), Liang began to postulate a "revolution in the realm of the novel 小說界革命," which bore out among other things the fact that the Chinese intellectuals were beginning to shift their attention toward the novel as the appropriate instrument for giving shape to a new nation (6–10).

Given that the novel's newly acquired status as the right vehicle for the transmission of modernity highlighted the declining influence of poetry, why then did poetry become the center of the May Fourth cultural revolution? To explain this paradoxical phenomenon, one needs to be aware of the ambiguity of poetry's cultural status at this juncture. On the one hand, compared to fiction, which, having a long history of being written in the vernacular and, as mentioned above, being recently considered a powerful instrument of national reform, was already the prevailing literary genre in the late Qing (Yeh 1991, 14), poetry was still mired in its medieval form and seemed largely incompatible with modern life. Thus, the May Fourth intellectuals regarded poetry as the literary genre most inaccessible to the general population and therefore most urgently in need of reform.[7] On the other hand, having been the crown jewel of Chinese literature since time immemorial and having inherited a tradition of three millennia, poetry nevertheless retained a highly symbolic cultural status. Thus, it somehow came to stand for traditional Chinese culture toward which the May Fourth intellectuals had developed an intense love-hate relationship.

The May Fourth cultural revolution then had to begin with reforming poetry as the symbol of the literary/cultural establishment and in so doing unwittingly reinstated it at the heart of the cultural revolution, if only for a short time. It was as if Chinese culture would have automatically been redeemed if poetry, which was then both a bane and a historical crown jewel, had been vernacularized and had become truly respectable again—like the *Yuefu* 樂府 (song-poems), which had once been performed and understood by everyone and therefore not divorced from real life (Hu 1970, 13–23). Thus, in the May Fourth movement, the re-formation of poetry's identity is tightly intertwined with the search for a new national identity as corroborated by Hu's analogy: what a new social order is to political revolution, so satisfactory results are to a literary revolution (Hu 1975b, 6).

7 Hu himself argued that there was more discussion of poetry precisely because the antiquatedness of the poetic form and content invited thinking about reform (Hu 1975a, 49).

As the logic of cultural revolution emerged out of a combination of Chinese tradition and Western thinking (J. Chen 2000), so placing poetry at the center of this revolution was also partly inspired by the nineteenth-century Modern(ist) revolution of poetry in the West. And, being generally associated with liberation from traditional poetic forms as well as from official ideologies, the trans-Atlantic Modernist revolution indeed provided Chinese reform-minded intellectuals with a paradigm of some kind for poetry's role in cultural revolution.

The Irony of Free Verse: From Aesthetic Freedom Back to Aesthetic Autonomy

The trans-Atlantic Modernist revolution, originally first and foremost a poetic revolution, was prompted by a cultural crisis brought about by changing socio-economic conditions, especially the rapidly expanding dominance of the market, and featuring centrally the decline of poetry in the modern world (Cornell 1970, 5; Steele 1990, 9). With poetry marginalized by the market's growing interest in fiction and journalistic reportage and having won an autonomy that it did not really want, the money and respect poets earned consistently declined (Bell-Villada 1996, 36–56). This crisis of marginalization was registered most clearly in France, where it spawned the most radical responses because the socio-economic conditions there facilitated a "break with the old thinking" and "a readiness for the new" (58).

It was generally argued that Baudelaire who, as both a critic and a poet, was among the first to be fascinated with the "modernity" (*modernité*) of contemporary life, ushered in Western aesthetic modernity with his prophetic responses to the above-mentioned crisis (Bell-Villada 1996, 139). Although he was equally attracted to both faces of modernity—the bourgeois and its other—his keenly felt uneasiness toward the bourgeois hegemony, partly made possible by the market, as well as toward the resultant marginalization of poetry, caused his response to this crisis to center on resistance to that hegemony.[8] Baudelaire argued that what should be valorized about modernity lies in what bourgeois modernity is not: what he described as the "heroism of modern life," which was embodied in the "spectacle of fashionable life and of thousands of stray

8 Also working with critical essays, Baudelaire was fully aware of the different ways lyric poetry and prose works fared in the market-dominated publishing world and the latter's relative advantage in terms of securing subsistence and winning readership (Baudelaire 1964, 46).

souls—criminals, kept women—who drift about in the underground of a great city" (Baudelaire 1964, 3–44).

But what is at stake in the way Baudelaire portrays the artist's relationship with modernity is its paradoxical nature, which embodies "the creative potential of paradox" (Hannoosh 1992, 255) and is most saliently manifested in Baudelaire's dualistic concept of beauty: one branch aspires to the transcendent and the eternal (i.e., "eternal beauty") while the other savors the immediate and the vulgar (i.e., "modern beauty") (Calinescu 1987, 53; Hannoosh 1992, 261–8). To quite an extent, his separate use of the stanzaic format and the prose poem format for writing different kinds of poetry bears out this dualistic aesthetic thinking. The former pointed toward a more aestheticist desire, whereas the latter tried to open up the poem toward the newer and cruder reality (Johnson 1979; Hiddleston 1987, 3, 74–5). These two opposite tendencies together constituted the doubleness of and tensions within the Modernist poetic revolution in the West (Turnell 1953, 33; Bell-Villada 1996, 165). After Baudelaire, the two tendencies developed separately into two anti-bourgeois movements that were related and yet also opposed in many ways.

The first tendency evolved into the aestheticist/decadent worldview and eventually culminated in the Symbolist movement. Vis-à-vis the triumph of the market and philistine values embodied in the third Republic, it counterattacked with the pursuit of "pure art," an aesthetic based on idealist philosophy and yet nevertheless devoted to bringing about social change in its own way (Shryock 2005, 390–1). The second tendency, manifested as the historical avant-garde movements, went a step further and attempted to re-connect with "life" by struggling to overcome the unwanted autonomy of art (especially poetry) imposed by the bourgeoisie and accidentally reinforced by the Symbolist movement (Bürger 1984). Although Symbolist poetry already experimented with free verse (*vers libre*) in order to undermine traditional poetic forms favored by the bourgeois orthodoxy (Steele 1990, 4–5; Shryock 2005, 391), the attempt remained half-hearted and poets' involvement in it varied (Coffman 1977, 91–4); a thorough liberation of form was to be found later in the historical avant-gardes, which completely abandoned the idea of fixed poetic form in favor of formal configurations that were intended to interact intensely with real life as well as shocked the bourgeois (Bürger 1984, 48). A little later, a similar situation happened with American poetry. The triumph of prose fiction elicited two responses:

> the first of these was to pursue a path ... into pure poetry, into a poetic art that accepts and even glories in its progressive attenuation and that turns inward on its own medium for its resources and subjects.... The second

> response involved an effort to recover materials increasingly claimed by prose fiction.... (Steele 1990, 89–90)

With Swinburne as paradigm, the first response was certainly a continuation of the aestheticist impulse whereas, influenced by Browning, the latter inaugurated the free verse movement in the Anglo-American literary scene (11–13, 89–95).

In the end, however, the poetic mainstream (both French and Anglo-American), largely settled within the parameters of a radicalized Aestheticist tradition, which more or less carried on the anti-bourgeois momentum and yet was not able to achieve the goal that the revolutions had set up for themselves—re-connecting with contemporary reality in a more accessible way. In other words, in both cases, poetry's reconsolidation of identity began by working to overcome its increasingly marginalized status through somehow liberating the traditional verse form but ended up producing Modernism, which re-confirmed, if not reinforced, aesthetic autonomy. This would later result in a sense of ambivalence as to the effectiveness of Modernist aesthetics in third-world (re)constructions of national form, such as in the case of China.

Misreading Modernism: Exploding and Reconstituting Poetic Form in the May Fourth Movement

Western poetic modernity, manifested as a reconsolidation of poetic identity, was soon invoked by Hu Shi as an exemplar for Chinese poetry. The May Fourth vernacular literature movement was believed to have been somehow inspired by the Imagist doctrine (Duan 2007, 111–4), which was generally construed as part of the trans-Atlantic Modernist revolution in poetry. "Writing poetry must be like writing prose," the statement Hu made as to where the "revolution in the poetic world [should] begin" (Hu 1975a, 57),[9] also closely followed the claims by people like Ford Madox Ford that "poetry should address real life and should be written in the same vocabulary as that which one would use if one were writing prose" (Steele 1990, 96). But in the Chinese case, things were much more complex. While the poets' insecurity and resultant lack of "a clear sense of mission and direction" (Yeh 1991, 14), among other things, were in part caused by the rising popularity of the novel, their search for a new poetic identity was not simply an intra-literary problem but also, as mentioned above, was

9 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

compelled by a need to reform traditional culture and by extension to redeem the nation.

Moreover, in their scramble to modernize for the purpose of securing a new national identity, the Chinese received what they believed to be "modernity" in one gulp without clearly distinguishing its different typologies as well as its different phases in history. Other than serving as the inspiration for "the eight don'ts" postulated by Hu as the guidelines for the new vernacular literature (Duan 2007, 111–4), Modernist poetics, be it French or Anglo-American, was not able to win the hearts of the early May Fourth Chinese poets. What immediately followed Hu's inaugural act of "modernizing" Chinese poetry was in fact a burst of poetry written under Romantic influences rather than Modernist ones (Li 1997, 70–92). The truth is that at this transitional juncture, for the May Fourth revolutionaries, there was a need for both exploding the old form and forging a new form in terms of nation-building. For this purpose Romantic poetry was believed to serve as a better paradigm than Modernist poetry for modern Chinese poetry on two accounts. First, Modernist poetry's energy dynamic was not as emotionally powerful as Romantic poetry in terms of inducing that effusion of energy needed for the initial stage of nation-building. Second, its indirect and sometimes highly condensed language was considered not nearly as capable as Romantic poetry of facilitating general enlightenment for the purpose of nation-building.

As the overblown and self-indulgent Romantic approach to the self, characterized above all by a form of "disrelationship" (Sypher 1962, 21), was successively challenged by a legion of factors that emerged in the nineteenth century, including among other things rapid urbanization, the expanding domination of the market, the economic deprivation of the poet-artist, and, probably most important of all, the assimilation of Romanticism by the bourgeoisie into its "inordinate anthropomorphism," an alternative approach developed which was based on a more urban-oriented outlook and characterized by what Miller calls an "abandoning of the independence of the ego" (Miller 1996, 7–8), or a reining in of what Nathan Scott, Jr. terms the "humanizing" instincts based on that "inordinate anthropomorphism" (N. Scott 1969, 35). And even as anti-bourgeois sentiments, which might have helped foster a stronger individualism, ran ever higher at this point, this new approach toward the ego which culminated in Modernist aesthetics in the form of the Keatsian "negative capability" highlights the fact that Modernism, despite subtle differences among practitioners, is a far cry from, if not an outright opponent of, Romantic self-aggrandization.

Moreover, it is a well-accepted argument that, being partly a reaction against Romantic sentimentality, which both drained poetry of its expressive intensity and smacked of bourgeois co-optation, Modernist poetry was devoted among

other things to developing a poetic language that would be at great variance with that of Romanticism. The Symbolist poets were deeply indebted to the Parnassians, who were among the first to question Romantic sentimentality, and the Imagist poets were in turn inspired by the Symbolists (Coffman 1977, 74–103). Even the poets involved in the historical avant-gardes, who could be described as unrestrained in terms of scandalizing the bourgeoisie, chose to write in a highly obscure language. Even though "free verse" seemed to underlie all these different schools, this verse was not at all "free" in the sense of "letting loose." Despite the fact that it was permeated with a spirit of resistance (to the bourgeois hegemony), the Modernist poetic language, characterized by verbal restraint and often obscurity as well, certainly did not seem to lend itself well to facilitating general enlightenment and hence enhancing national form.

Consequently, during the May Fourth period poetic modernity was almost inevitably misread as Romantic poetry, which both manifests a rebellious spirit and uses a plain language. Although, unlike Western Romantic poetry, the kind of verse that Chinese vernacular poetry first adopted was indeed "free" in the sense of having jettisoned all formal rules, it was not after all modeled on Modernism. For the May Fourth intellectuals, since there was, as mentioned earlier, above all an urgent need to transform the denseness and opaqueness of classical language into the clarity and simplicity of vernacular language accessible to the whole population ("Clarity of expression over literary embellishment" (Hu 1970, 12)), Modernist free verse did not seem as suitable a paradigm as the verbally unembellished and emotionally unrestrained verse of Romantic poetry. In other words, for Hu and his contemporaries, the modernity of poetry consisted of a "vernacularized language" (which was not necessarily "the vernacular"), pulsating with romanticized emotional overflow rather than the Modernist "free verse" constricted by what Clive Scott calls "phlegmatic lyricism" (C. Scott 1978, 363).

All things considered, then, the Romantic turn was a move that somehow further endangered the status of poetry. Even though it succeeded in helping Chinese poetry shake off traditional forms, romanticized free verse "became the victim of its own success" for two reasons: "First, it lacked an easily identifiable genre form.... Second, it got entangled with excessive romantic sentimentality that fast slipped into dry terminology and sloganeering" (Li 1997, 83). This romanticized modern poetry not only did not help with facilitating general enlightenment with its relatively accessible language but set the national form further adrift on the "formlessness" resultant from Romantic emotional liberation. This also explains why all the way up to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, there had been a consistent effort to re-postulate new poetic forms based on some regulations or other (82–92).

When Modernism enjoyed a short revival in the 1930s, it was immediately met with vehement censure from left-wing poets and critics, and later on suffered total suppression during communist rule all the way up until the 1980s.[10] Although what ensued in the communist era is familiar territory, a curious phenomenon nevertheless stands out that impels investigation: that the hostility toward Modernist aesthetics would eventually lead to the Cultural Revolution, which was China's most pernicious manifestation of anti-traditionalism! In other words, why did Marxist discourse, which was presumably anti-(bourgeois) modernity through and through, end up being anti-tradition? Of course, this is ultimately not surprising because Marxist discourse is nevertheless a form of modernity that is just as aggressive if not more so in its attempt to "modernize," albeit in a different way from bourgeois modernity (Chatterjee 1986, 170). Interestingly, in postwar Taiwan, this suspicion over "Western" poetic forms as a potential threat toward the Chinese national form followed a trajectory that seems at once surprisingly reminiscent of the one under discussion and yet totally unexpected, a topic to which I will return shortly.

Modernism as Anathema: The Relocation of National Form in Nativism

Suppressed in China, the Modernist aesthetic found its way to Taiwan and unexpectedly discovered fertile soil. In China before 1949, modern Chinese poetry was mainly either romantically lyrical or political in an unabashedly explicit manner. The influence of Modernist poetics, which had been a minor trend in pre-communist China, became much greater in Taiwan after World War II.

Modern Taiwanese poetry has two main sources: one beginning in the late colonial days, the other transmitted from China after 1949. The former, which, probably owing to its obliqueness of language, was the only strain of poetry in the colonial period that survived Japanese censorship, took its inspiration from French Surrealism; the latter, on the other hand, was based on an admixture of avant-garde and Symbolist aesthetics. They came together in the years following the retreat of the Nationalist Party (KMT) to Taiwan. With left-wing poetry forbidden and severe censorship in place for writing during this phase of KMT rule, poets (Taiwanese and mainlanders alike) mostly worked under Modernist influences, thus allowing Modernist poetics to unwittingly achieve

10 These Chinese Modernist poets had to wait till 1981 to republish their work and reassert their role in literary history. See Shen 2006, 668.

a fragile hegemony in modern Taiwanese poetry, which represented the first culmination of modernist aesthetics in modern poetry written in Chinese.[11]

The founding of the "Modernist School" in 1956, the first important postwar event in the history of modern Taiwanese poetry, witnessed what seemed to be an almost whole-hearted reception of Modernism, given what the school's founders specified in their manifesto: that they had adopted the spirit and essentials of Modernist poetry and were devoted to the principle of "horizontal transplantation [from the West] rather than vertical inheritance [of the Chinese tradition]."[12] The school, itself a loosely organized network, was short-lived, but it did usher in a new era if only because of the sheer number of poets who participated in the school in its early phase, including poets from both Taiwan and the mainland. It helped make "Modernism" prominent and successfully upheld it as the paradigm for conscious imitation if not emulation. Although there were reactions against the manifesto of the Modernist School, especially the part about "horizontal transplantation rather than vertical inheritance," Modernism did become a welcomed aesthetic. Capitalizing on this aesthetic, poets in Taiwan developed the most vital modern poetic legacy thus far in the Chinese world, with variegated styles and far-reaching influence.[13]

In 1972, however, modern poetry came under fire. Following on the heels of Taiwan's withdrawal from the United Nations the year before, this attack was launched by (Chinese) nationalist-oriented intellectuals and writers and heralded the Nativist (Literature) movement (*xiangtu wenxue yundong* 鄉土文學

11 The triumph of Modernist aesthetics was a phenomenon across all genres of literature, what Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang describes as "[claiming] the most impressive artistic output" thus far in the Chinese-speaking world (Chang 1993, vii).

12 This manifesto includes six points. What concerns us here are the first two, which read: "1. We, the Modernist School, have adopted the spirit and essentials of all new schools of poetry since Baudelaire, with careful selection and enhanced emphases; 2. We believe that New Poetry relies on horizontal transplantation rather than vertical inheritance. This is a summary of our view and serves as our point of departure, whether in terms of theoretical postulation or actual practice" (*Xiandaishishe* 1956, cover page).

13 Under Modernist influences, modern Taiwan poetry was able to create its own variations—from the predominantly lyrical contemplations to anti-war protests, from inflections of traditional sensibilities to quasi-surrealist epiphanies. Despite the hegemony of the Modernist aesthetic, however, traditional Chinese lyrical sensibilities continued to inform much poetry written in the few decades following the founding of the Modernist school. After the fall of the Gang of Four in China, Modern poetry from Taiwan became the main staple for poets in China who were eager to see a different paradigm than didactic poetry. This enthusiasm directly inspired the Obscure Poetry movement.

運動). Although the attack was spurred by a national crisis, just as had been the case during the May Fourth movement, this time poetry was targeted for an almost totally different set of supposed evils than those for which it had been attacked some five decades earlier. Although traditionalist attacks on modern poetry were common, this time the attackers' rhetoric and critical stance, characterized by an admixture of nationalist and low-profile left-wing elements, indicated a different turn on previous critiques of modern poetry in postwar Taiwan.[14]

For the Nativists, the problem with modern poetry was its mortgaging of identity to Western capitalism. In a crudely argued essay that initiated the debate on modern poetry in the 1970s, Guan Jieming 關傑明 inveighed against "the obscurity, self-indulgence, and nihilism" of modern poetry, which he believed was derived from its lack of a firm footing in the immediate reality and of contact with ordinary people (Guan 1972). Whereas his advocacy of unadorned language seems to remind us of the May Fourth endeavor to promote vernacular poetry, his criticism exhibited a strong distaste for the anti-traditionalism of modern poetry, a stance which certainly was a far cry from that of the early May Fourth revolutionaries. And his emphasis on the need to promote the "Chinese spirit" in poetry was especially heterodox to the then-dominant Modernist poetics.

In July 1973, Gao Shangqin 高上秦, editor-in-chief of *Long-zu* 龍族 (Dragon race), a poetry journal published by a group of young maverick poets, put together a collection of essays on modern poetry to highlight what he and his colleagues considered to be the genre's current problems. In the introduction, Gao wrote that the collection was motivated by the vociferous controversies over the publication of the *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue daxi, shi yi er ji* 中國現代文學大系. 詩一、二輯 (Poetry, vol. I and II, of the Grand series of modern Chinese literature) and the *Xiandai wenxue zazhi "xiandaishi huigu" zhuanhao* 現代文學雜誌「現代詩回顧」專號 (Special issue on "modern poetry in retrospect" by the literary journal *Modern literature*). He went on to argue that what these publications revealed was that modern poetry "seemed to have lost the soil in which it should take root" and, in an apt summary of the Nativist drift, that what it needed was a rectification of its identity: "temporal-wise, we hope it can connect with tradition in a proper way; and spatial-wise, we expect it to respond genuinely to social reality" (Gao 1973, 6).

14 The postwar debates before the Nativist movement were mainly initiated by the traditionalists, who had a strong distaste for the "Westernization" of Chinese poetry. See Xiaoxiao 1996, 107–22.

But what was most scandalizing in this collection, as well as in this phase of the Nativist movement, was Tang Wenbiao's 唐文標 essay, "Shenmo shihou shenmo difang shenmoren: lun chuantongshi yu xiandaishi" 什麼時候什麼地方什麼人—論傳統詩與現代詩 (When, where and who: on classical poetry and modern poetry). In this essay, Tang launched a scathing attack on contemporary poets, both for indulging in the decadence of classical Chinese poetry and for being seduced by Western literary elitism and escapism (Tang 1973, 228). Unlike the other nationalists involved in this debate, who generally advocated plain language by proffering classical poetry as the exemplar, he deprecated all traditional poetry—except the *Shijing* 詩經 and the *Chuci* 楚辭, along with the work of a few poets, such as Du Fu 杜甫 and Bai Juyi 白居易, who wrote about social ills. He contended that in post-May Fourth China there was no more need for the "tradition" that had been passed on by the "feudalistic aristocrat-literati" (222). For him, the only kind of poetry with positive value was "born of a spirit of protest and a concern with the national destiny" (228). The poet's job, Tang argued, is to "stand up to the challenges of his time by working energetically in the crowd and then faithfully reflect the pleasures and pains of real life" (218). Combined with a slightly different rhetoric, his argument, no less crude but more focused than Guan's, represents the movement's transition from a generally nationalist stance to a more socialist-inflected nationalist one. In 1977, five years after the first debate began, the nationalist-socialists resumed the debate by starting a concerted and much more sophisticated as well as politically-minded attack on literature written under Western Modernist influence. From then on, the Nativist debates began to develop along an axis of nationalist-socialist vs. humanist-aestheticist positions and gradually shifted attention away from poetry to literature in general.[15]

As the foregoing discussion has demonstrated, although in the crisis of the early 1970s poetry again became a primary target, the attack this time around had much less to do with poetry's link with conservative traditional culture as a whole than with poetry's "modernity." To the early Nativists, modern poetry[16] was the most Westernized and elitist literary genre in terms of aesthetics (including both language and content) and thus a cultural phenomenon filled with evil trappings. On the other hand, by virtue of its vestigial cultural prestige, poetry retained sufficient symbolic potency to still have a crucial impact

15 For a general understanding of the positions of both camps, see Yu 1978.

16 In this context, the expression "modern poetry" was often used interchangeably with "modernist poetry."

on cultural and political renewal, if only in a negative way.[17] As in the May Fourth period, the reform directed at poetry this time was also meant to initiate the process of reconsolidating the national form. As we have observed in the articles sampled above, modern poetry was criticized for its obscurity, its imitation of Western culture, and its elitist taste—all traits supposedly derived from Modernist aesthetics. The new and authentic national form would have to derive from a realist-oriented poetry, one which adopted a plain and accessible language, expressed the feelings of ordinary people, and was endowed with a strong sense of social responsibility.

Although the Nativist movement was triggered by Taiwan's expulsion from the United Nations because the People's Republic of China had been admitted, this national crisis was a complex issue that defies the simplistic logic of "Taiwan vs. China." Despite its apparent call for a return to the native, the Nativist movement was initially pro-unification (of Taiwan with mainland China). For the early Nativists, who were nationalist and anti-communist, unification presupposed the KMT government recovering the mainland. However, for the many later Nativists, who were nationalist-socialist, unification at almost any cost became more desirable than maintaining the status quo, for reasons I will turn to shortly. In other words, for the latter it was the KMT rather than the PRC that had caused the crisis by becoming a puppet regime in the whole Cold War arrangement. Thus, the "national crisis" only served to highlight the root cause of this humiliation: domination by the West.[18] Redeeming the situation required on the one hand purging the pro-Western ideology permeating Taiwanese culture and on the other having real contact with the native Chinese soil in Taiwan, i.e., the lower class people (including peasants and laborers), whom they believed to be the bearer of the national essence (of China), now that at this juncture this was the only "China" available to them.[19]

---

17 See for instance a typical statement by Shangqin Gao: "Very often, it is in the pompousness and over-embellishment of language that the decadence of a culture or the disintegration of a society first began. Those poets who are intent on bringing a new future for Chinese literature—can you not be discreet when you are having a good time 'giving names to the myriads of things'" (Gao 1973, 7)?

18 See for instance Chen Yingzhen's 陳映真 essay "Wenxue laizi shehui, fanying shehui" 文學來自社會，反映社會 (Literature grounded in society and reflecting society) in which he argues that whereas the Cold War structure was coming to an end, we in Taiwan were not aware of it and continued to adhere to this structure, ending up by being betrayed by the so-called bastions of the free world, such as the United States and Japan, two major Cold War allies of Taiwan (Y. Chen 1978b, 63).

19 See for example this statement by Chen Yingzhen in "Jianli minzu wenxue de fengge" 建立民族文學的風格 (Establishing a national style)): "First of all, we have to connect

Very soon, however, "what is the nation" became an increasingly challenging question. While the modernity of May Fourth vernacular poetry was in the end misread as Romanticism, the Marxist modernity adopted by the (Chinese) nationalist-socialists in Taiwan later on was unwittingly transformed into its own nemesis: the Nativization movement (*bentuhua yundong* 本土化運動), an anti-Chinese, Taiwanese nationalist movement steeped in a pro-capitalist and pro-American ideology. This strange twist was brought about among other things by an almost inevitable slippage from "native Chinese soil" to "native Taiwanese soil," since among other reasons the anti-communist hostility inherent in the Cold War structure increasingly discouraged the Taiwanese from imagining themselves as Chinese, and on the international stage Taiwan was consistently blocked by communist China from using the term "Chinese" to apply to the "native soil of Taiwan" (Liao 2000, 179–80). This Taiwanese nationalist tendency has persisted well into the present and, despite coming from a right-wing ideology, it somehow replicated the course the Chinese communists took in the 1960s, which turned Marxist ideology into an extreme form of anti-traditionalism, and culminated in the Taiwanese nationalists' recent all-out maneuver to de-sinicize culture in Taiwan.

The Nativists did produce their own kind of poetry, which consisted of a mixture of realist and romantic elements. When the nationalist side was emphasized, the romantic mode was utilized; when social concern was the theme, then the realist mode was preferred. The Nativist-influenced poetry developed throughout the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s and helped ameliorate the extreme tendencies represented by the rarefying and ventriloquism of some self-styled Modernist poetry, but it gradually lost its appeal as the romantic mode became more and more abstract and the realist mode increasingly repetitive.[20] Moreover, the Nativizationist turn of the Nativist

through our heart with the soil on which we live our everyday life and with the fellow countrymen with whom we interact daily. Only then can we share the bloodline of our nation. And only then, despite pervading foreign influences, can we find a stable Chinese home for our national sentiments, which have become diluted, dissipated, and diminished" (Y. Chen 1978a, 336–7).

20 Of all the poetry journals that were published under the Nativist influence, *Dragon Race* was the archetype. It began its career as a revolt against the dominance of Modernist poetics that prevailed in the 1960s and the older poets who were its champions. Claiming as it did that "we clang our own gong, beat our own drum, and perform our own dragon dance" (the manifesto of *Dragon Race*), it turned instead to a poetry with a mixture of romantic and realist styles. Other poetry groups associated with the Nativist movement, to different degrees and with varying commitments to its ideology, include *Zhuliu* 主流 (The mainstream) (1971), *Dadi*), 大地 (The earth) (1972), *Houlang*, 後浪 (The rising

movement engendered confusion over the orientation of Nativist poetry and tension among members of many poetry groups.[21] The resultant marginalization of Nativist poetry indicated its two major deficiencies: the predominant allegorical tendency of its nationalist mode and the anti-urban orientation of its realist mode (Liao 1996). Together they hindered Nativist poetry's ability to respond to the new urban and postindustrial reality, which at this time often found better expression in postmodernist aesthetics, whose introduction to Taiwan coincided with the right-wing Nativizationist turn of the left-wing Nativist movement and which served as an alternative to the Nativizationist approach to culture in general and poetry in particular (Liao 2000, 175–9). But even as the postmodernist trend attracted many followers and began to transform the literary scene in Taiwan, from then on, poetry (of whatever persuasion) no longer played a central role in the Taiwanese cultural scene but assumed a status comparable to that of poetry in other highly marketized societies: an elite but marginalized player.[22]

From Awkward Alliance to Alternative Modernity: Beyond the Incommensurability of Modernist Poetics and the Project of Enlightenment

The fate of modern Chinese poetry is symptomatic of the unresolved conflicts between tradition and modernity, elitism and accessibility, and aesthetics and politics in Chinese literary art. Though the response to these conflicts seems to find a precedent in the Modernist movement begun in France, in the Chinese world it took a significantly different course with Liang Qichao as the trailblazer and Hu Shi as the tone setter. From then on, poetry has been tied up with the desire for general enlightenment, which was believed to underlie the project of nation-building. Chinese intellectuals of the Republican era (and, later on,

tides) (1972), *Caogen* 草根 (The grassroots) (1975), *Tianlangxing* 天狼星 (Sirius) (1975), *Haitang* 海棠 (The hibiscus) (1975), *Shenzhou* 神州 (The sacred land) (1977), *Shichao* 詩潮, (Tides of poetry) (1977), *Yangguang xiaoji* 陽光小集 (The sunshine gathering (1979), *Chunfeng* 春風 (Spring breeze) (1984), and *Liang'an* 兩岸 (The Strait's two sides) (1985).

21 One of the most symptomatic episodes was the disbanding of the poetry group The Sunshine Gathering, which was presumably due to internal disagreement as to the future political orientation of the group and its journal.

22 By now modern poetry was much more established and less directly involved in social affairs. Although it had come to enjoy an autonomy unheard of before, this was arguably a marginalized autonomy. On the other hand, however, the infiltration of poetic elements into other areas of everyday life was more evident than ever.

Taiwanese intellectuals) have since felt an unmitigated anguish over poetry's status relative to nation-building, not only because nation-building is never thought to be completed but also because the poetics with which that project has been tied up was from the very beginning incommensurable with general enlightenment. Having embarked irrevocably on the path toward free verse or, more precisely, vernacular language, which opened up the Pandora's Box of "formlessness," modern poetry, once the symbol of "modernity," has become an ever more ambiguous cultural index.[23]

But since it was believed that the contiguity between poetic form and national form above all lies in the former's accessibility, modern Chinese poetry's tendency toward indirect expression (owing to Modernist influences) more than its formlessness evokes anxiety about the weakness of the national form predicated on it. Although Modernist poetry was never well received by Chinese readership in the Republican era, any sign that modern poetry was tilting toward Modernist poetics was immediately censured by both traditionalist and left-wing critics since the more indirect its expression becomes, the more suspicion it arouses as to its accessibility and therefore its true function in terms of nation-building.[24] This suspicion was exacerbated in the Nativist movement, seeing that modernist poetics had accidentally formed an incipient hegemony in the poetic circle in Taiwan.

Even though in both cases poetry was pushed to the forefront of reform, given this intertwinement, it was in all fairness rarely taken as what it was but as an instrument for a larger cultural reform, despite unexpected gains for poetry from the process of translation.[25] In serving somewhat as a trumpeter of reform and thus negotiating intensely with modernity, modern Chinese

23 Even though the later Liang Qichao came to hold a more balanced view of literature, asserting that it can be either instrumentalist or autonomous, he nevertheless leaned more toward the instrumentalist, especially during his early phase when his influence on society was the strongest of his career. See Yang 2002, 256–84.

24 The controversial status of Modernist poetics harks back to Li Jinfa's 李金髮 Symbolist-inspired poetry, which was so different from the Romantic-inflected early vernacular poetry that it raised quite a few eyebrows (Li 1997, 10).

25 For example, the liberation of form during the May Fourth movement set the foundation for a better negotiation with the modernity of poetic form, which no longer relies on extrinsic elements but necessarily varies from work to work on the basis of intrinsic demands and which was partially responsible for the revival of Modernist poetics in postwar Taiwan. On the other hand, adopting a modality opposite that of the May Fourth movement by privileging the native over the modern(ist), the Nativists were, as mentioned earlier, able to rectify the freewheeling tendencies in some corners of the poetic circle and, for better or for worse, helped consolidate the autonomy of modern poetry.

poetry in both cases triggered a chain reaction that eventually transformed the larger cultural scene. As a result of the Vernacular Literature movement, a new sensibility emerged that embarked on an intense soul searching that even now preoccupies Chinese intellectuals (both in Taiwan and the mainland). In both communist China of the 1970s and Taiwan since the late 1980s, this resulted in extreme forms of anti-traditionalism (i.e. the Cultural Revolution in communist China and the de-sinicization campaign in Taiwan). For though the two literary movements treated poetic reform in significantly different ways, they in fact shared something in common: they both were attempts to grapple with the unappeased historical trauma that was caused by the encounter with Western modernity, which in turn stigmatized tradition as its symptom. And so far neither society seems to have found a desirable path.

Nevertheless, as much havoc as the by-effects of cultural revolution have wreaked, both societies seem to have gradually come to an incipient understanding of the nature of this preoccupation, albeit to different degrees: that they have been blindly driven on by both their obsession with Western modernity as the moment of origin and the resultant sense of belatedness due to the misconception which Fabian calls "the denial of coevalness."[26] By examining the process of the translation of Western modernity in modern Chinese poetry, one realizes that both societies could have done a better job in choosing between the two impulses mentioned at the beginning of this essay (i.e. to submit to Western modernity or to confront it) in order to deal with the historical trauma if they had understood "modernity" as always already translation and therefore made better use of the "third space" when they translated modernity. The job of tackling the trauma remains an incomplete project of translation that urgently requires a proper understanding of the imperative of alternative/multiple modernities, which in turn is hinged on the ability of the Chinese societies to "identify with the symptom," that is, re-negotiate sympathetically with their much-disputed tradition.

Works Cited

Baudelaire, Charles. 1964. *Baudelaire as a Literary Critic: Selected Essays*. Trans. Lois Boe Hyslop and Francis E. Hyslop Jr. University Park: University of Pennsylvania State Press.

26 Fabian 1983, Chaps. 1–2. Taiwanese society seems to have done better in this de-mythologization, having eventually brought about the democratic transformation of Taiwan as well as a decentralized perception of Chinese culture.

Bell-Villada, Gene H. 1996. *Art for Art's Sake and Literary Life*. Lincoln and London: The University of Nebraska Press.

Bery, Ashok. 2007. *Cultural Translation and Postcolonial Poetry*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhabha, Homi. 1990. "The Third Space." Interview by Jonathan Rutherford. In Jonathan Rutherford, ed., *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, 207–21. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

———. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge.

Bürger, Peter. 1984. *The Theory of the Avant-garde*. Trans. Michael Shaw. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Calinescu, Mateo. 1987. *Five Faces of Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne. 1993. *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction from Taiwan*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chen, Jianhua. 陳建華. 2000. *Geming de xiandaixing: Zhongguo geming huayu kaolun* 革命的現代性: 中國革命話語考論 (The modernity of revolution: an inquiry of the discourse of revolution in China). Shanghai: Shanghai guji.

Chen, Yingzhen. 陳映真 1978a. "Jianli minzu wenxue de fengge" 建立民族文學的風格(Establishing a national style). In Yu Tiancong 尉天聰, ed., *Xiangtu wenxue taolunji* 鄉土文學討論集 (Debates over nativist literature), 334–41. Taipei: Yuanjing.

———. 1978b. "Wenxue laizi shehui, fanying shehui" 文學來自社會, 反映社會 (Literature derived from the society and reflecting the society). In *Debates Over Nativist Literature*, 53–68.

Coffman, Stanley K. Jr. 1977. *Imagism: A Chapter for the History of Modern Poetry*. New York: Octagon.

Cornell, Kenneth. 1970. *The Symbolist Movement*. North Haven, Connecticut: Archon.

Duan, Huaiqing 段懷清. 2007. "Hushi wenxue gailiang zhuzhang zhong san ge shangdai chengqing de wenti" 胡適文學改良主張中三個尚待澄清的問題 (Three unsolved puzzles in Hu Shi's thoughts on literary reform). *Zhejiang daxue xuebao* (*Renwen shehuikexue ban*) 浙江大學學報 人文社會科學版) (Journal of Zhejiang University, humanities and social science edition) 37, no.3: 111–9.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. 2002. "Multiple modernities." In Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Multiple modernities*, 1–30. London: Transaction Publishers.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gao, Shangqin 高上秦. 1973. "Tansuo yu huigu: xiezai longzu pinglu zhuanhao qianmian" 探索與回顧: 寫在龍族評論專號前面 (Explorations and reflections:

preface to the special issue on critique of modern poetry). *Longzu* 龍族 (Dragon race) (*Longzu pinglun zhuanhao* 龍族評論專號) (Special issue on criticism of modern poetry) 9: 4–8.

Guan, Jieming 關傑明. 1972. "Zhongguo xiandai shiren de kunjing" 中國現代詩人的困境 (The predicament of modern Chinese poets). *Zhongguo shibao. fukan* 中國時報.副刊 (Literary supplement to *China times*), Feb. 28–29.

Hannoosh, Michele. 1992. *Baudelaire and Caricature: From the Comic to an Art of Modernity*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Hiddleston, J.A. 1987. *Baudelaire and Le Spleen de Paris*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Hu, Shi 胡適. 1970. *Baihua wenxueshi shangpian* 白話文學史上篇 (A history of vernacular literature (I)). Taipei: Letian.

———. 1975a. "Bishang liangshan" 逼上梁山 (Forced to go up to Mount Liang). In *Wusi xinwenxue lunzhanji huibian* (*I*) 五四新文學論戰集彙編 (I) (Collection of May Fourth debates over the new literature (I)), 51–86. Taipei: Changge.

———. 1975b. "Xinwenxue yudong xiaoshi" 新文學運動小史(A brief history of the new literature). In *Collection of May Fourth Debates over the New Literature* (I), 5–50.

Johnson, Barbara. 1979. *Défigurations du langage poétique: la seconde révolution Baudelairienne*. Paris: Flammarion.

Kamali, Masoud. 2006. *Multiple Modernities, Civil Society and Islam: The Case of Iran and Turkey*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Lacan, Jacques. 1998. *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan*, vol. XI. Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller and trans. Alan Sheridan. New York & London: W. W. Norton & Company.

Lao, Naixuan 勞乃宣. 1969. *Tongxiang Laoxiansheng* (*naixua*) *yigao* 桐鄉勞先生(乃宣) 遺稿 (Writings by Mr Lao Naixuan from Tongxiang). *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊 (Series of historical records of modern China). *Di 36 ji*第三十六輯 (Collection 36). *Di 4 juan* 第四卷 (Vol. 4). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe

Li, Dian. 1997. *Writing in Crisis: Translation, Genre, and Identity in Modern Chinese Poetry*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

Liang, Qichao 梁啟超. 1941. *Yinbingshi heji* 飲冰室合集 (Collected works of the iced water drinking house). 40 vols. Shanghai: Zhonghua.

———. 1998 *Yinbingshi shihua* 飲冰室詩話 (Discourse on poetry from the iced water drinking house).Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

Liao, Hsien-hao 廖咸浩. 1996. "Lisan yu jujiao zhijian: bashi niandai de houxiandai shi yu bentu shi" 離散與聚焦:八十年代的後現代詩與本土詩 (Between deterritorialization and re-territorialization: postmodern poetry and nativizationist poetry in the eighties). In Wenxun zazhishe 文訊雜誌社, ed., *Taiwan xiandaishi shilun* 台灣現代詩史論 (On the history of modern Taiwan poetry), 437–50. Taipei: Wenxunzazhi.

———. 2000. "Becoming Cyborgian: Postmodernism and Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan." In Arif Dirlik and Xudong Zhang, ed., *Postmodernism and China*, 175–202. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lin, Yu-sheng. 1979. *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Anti-traditionalism in the May Fourth Era*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Liu, Lydia H. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Macura, Vladimir. 1990. "Culture as Translation." In Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere, eds., *Translation, History and Culture*, 64–70. London: Pinter.

Masini, Federico. 1993. *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*. Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California.

Miller, J. Hillis. 1996. *Poets of Reality: Six Twentieth Century Writers*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Paz, Octavio. 1992. "Translation: Literature and Letters," trans. Irene del Corral. In Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, eds., *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, 152–62. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Scott, Clive. 1978. "The Prose Poem and Free Verse." In Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, eds., *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature 1890–1930*, 349–68. Harmondworth: Penguin.

Scott, Nathan, Jr. 1969. *Negative Capability: Studies in the New Literature and the Religious Situation*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Shen, Yongda 沈用大. 2006. *Zhongguo Xinshishi 1918–1949* 中國新詩史 (History of Chinese new poetry 1918–1949). Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe.

Shryock, Richard. 2005. "Becoming Political: Symbolist Literature and the Third Republic." *Nineteenth Century French Studies* 33, nos.3–4: 385–98.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Steele, Timothy. 1990. *Missing Measures: Modern Poetry and the Revolt against Meter*. Fayetteville & London: University of Arkansas Press.

Sypher, Wylie. 1962. *Loss of the Self in Modern Literature and Art*. New York: Vintage.

Tang, Wenbiao. 1973. "Sheme shihou sheme difang sheme ren" 什麼時候什麼地方什麼人—論傳統詩與現代詩 (When, where, and who: on classical poetry and modern poetry). *Longzu* 龍族 (Dragon race) (*Longzu pinglun zhuanhao* 龍族評論專號) (Special issue on criticism of modern poetry) 9: 217–28.

Taylor, Charles. 2001. "Two Theories of Modernity." In Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ed., *Alternative Modernities,* 172–96. Durham: Duke University Press.

Turnell, Martin. 1953. *Baudelaire: A Study of His Poetry*. Norfolk, Conn.: James Laughlin.

Wang, Zhao 王照. 1957. *Guanhua hesheng zimu* 官話合聲字母 (A syllabary for Mandarin Chinese). Beijing: Wenzi gaige chubanshe.

Xiandaishishe 現代詩社. (Modern poetry club) 1956. *Xiandaishi* 現代詩 (Modern poetry) 13.

Xiaoxiao 蕭蕭. 1996. “Wuling niandai xinshi lunzhan pingshu” 五０年代新詩論戰評述 (On the debates over new poetry in the fifties) In *Taiwan xiandaishi shilun* 台灣現代詩史論 (On the history of modern Taiwan poetry), ed. Wenxun zazhishe 文訊雜誌社 (Literary news magazine), 107–22. Taipei: Wenxun zazhi.

Yack, Bernard. 1997. *The Fetishism of Modernities: Epochal Self-Consciousness in Contemporary Social and Political Thought*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Yang, Xiaoming 楊曉明. 2002. *Liang Qichao wenlu de xiandaixing quanshi* 梁啟超文論的現代性詮釋 (An exegesis on the modernity of Liang Qichao’s literary criticism). Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe.

Yeh, Michelle. 1991. *Modern Chinese Poetry: Theory and Practice since 1917*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Yu, Tiancong 尉天聰, ed. 1978. *Xiangtu wenxue taolunji* 鄉土文學討論集 (Debates over nativist literature). Taipei: Yuanjing.

Zizek, Slavoj. 1989. *The Sublime Object of Ideology.* London & New York: Verso.

———. 1991. *For They Know Not What They Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor*. London & New York: Verso.

CHAPTER 12

Ghostly China: Amy Tan's Narrative of Transnational Haunting in *The Hundred Secret Senses, The Bonesetter's Daughter*, and *Saving Fish from Drowning*[1]

Pin-chia Feng

> If haunting describes how that which appears to be not there is often a seething presence, acting on and often meddling with taken-for granted realities, the ghost is just the sign, or the empirical evidence if you like, that tells you a haunting is taken place. The ghost is not simply a dead or missing person, but a social figure, and investigating it can lead to that dense site where history and subjectivity make social life. The ghost or the apparition is one form by which something lost, or barely visible, or seemingly not there to our supposedly well-trained eyes, makes itself known or apparent to us, in its own way, of course. The way of the ghost is haunting, and haunting is a very particular way of knowing what has happened or is happening. Being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformative recognition. (Gordon 1997, 8)

Upon the publication of her first novel, *The Joy Luck Club* (Tan 1989), Chinese American author Amy Tan became an instant star in the publishing world; and her second novel, *The Kitchen God's Wife* (Tan 1991), was also a triumph. Tan's skillful renditions of mother-daughter relationships have moved many readers around the world. Moreover, her work—which came more than a dozen years after Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* (Kingston [1976] 1989)—has helped create a "renaissance" of Chinese American writing. Despite the fact that Tan refuses to be labeled a mother-daughter expert, both *The Joy Luck Club* and *The Kitchen God's Wife* center around the love and antagonism between Chinese immigrant mothers and their American daughters.

1 An earlier version of this essay was published in my monograph *Diasporic Representations: Reading Chinese American Women's Fiction* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010).

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004270220_014

In *The Hundred Secret Senses* (Tan 1995), *The Bonesetter's Daughter* (Tan 2001), and *Saving Fish from Drowning* (Tan 2005), Tan continues to concentrate on the conflicts and final reconciliation between mothers and daughters as she repeatedly invokes Chinese history and landscape to contextualize her portrayal of Chinese American experiences. China, in these texts, becomes a phantom space haunted by family secrets and ghostly pasts and serves to set off the protagonists' American presents. In this chapter I will delve into Tan's deployment of what I call "narrative of transnational haunting" in the three novelistic texts in order to discuss her technologies of representing China and Chinese American ethnicity.

Technologies of Representing Ethnicity

Readers familiar with Amy Tan's novels are aware that several recurrent themes run though Amy Tan's writing, such as mother-daughter relationships, the urgency of recuperating maternal memory and carrying on matrilineage, and the daughters' struggles with ethnic and professional identities. In *The Hundred Secret Senses*, *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, and *Saving Fish from Drowning*, furthermore, Tan adds the plots of ghosts, ghost-writing, and ghost narration onto these recurrent themes of searching for origin and selfhood. With the introduction of canonical texts such as Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* and Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1989), ghosts can hardly be incomprehensible for readers of American ethnic literatures. Tan further pursues this tradition of literary haunting in her three later novels. In *The Bonesetter's Daughter*, for example, Tan creates a quasi-Gothic novel in which a desire for at-homeness is embedded in grotesque stories of death and revenge. Ghost-writing has double meanings for the daughter/protagonist Ruth Yang. On the one hand it refers to Ruth's profession as an unrecognized ghostwriter of self-help manuals; on the other, in her youth Ruth had been forced into the role of spiritual medium, to fake communication through sand-writing with her dead grandmother on behalf of her mother Lu Ling. In both cases ghost-writing is mobilized as a trope for (trans)cultural negotiations in which Ruth serves as a cultural translator. At the same time ghost-writing in the novel is inevitably an ethnic marker, and along with the bones of Peking Man underlines an anthropological interest in China and Chinese history. This questionable interest has long been a fixed feature in Tan's writings, so that no critical reading of her works can avoid an interrogation of her technologies of representing ethnicity.

Tan's usual practice of representing and negotiating with Chinese American ethnicity is to work it through familial terms. As mentioned above, although

she refuses to be pegged as a mother-daughter expert, Tan consistently writes about the love and antagonism between Chinese immigrant mothers and their American daughters in all of her five published novels. Furthermore, perhaps because of her own homecoming experience Tan often uses China as a place to settle unresolved personal crises originating in the United States. Despite Tan's claim of her being "a specifist as a writer" instead of "a generalist" (Sachs 2001, 48), her renditions of Chinese American kinship and the spatial and historical configurations of China have often been faulted as inauthentic and stereotypical reproductions of the "Orient" for the benefit of mainstream readers. Asian American critic Sheng-mei Ma, for instance, argues that Tan is offering "an 'alternative' Orientalism, a New Age ethnicity mongrelized with primitivism, that appeals to Westerners' long-held Orientalist views of Asians and Asia under the guise of an embracing of ethnicity" (Ma 2000, xxii). Ma's critique is representative of the criticism against Tan's heavy reliance on the Chinese element. Personally, I do not believe any accusation of ethnic "fakeness" against Tan is productive. As David Leiwei Li rightly observes, Asian American writers face "a condition for double allegiance and double agency" (Li 1998, 177) and that the relationship between these authors and their audiences is "one of compulsory representation, a vicarious performance without consent" (181). While for the writers there is understandably no easy way out of this role as an involuntary representative, as critics we should try to seek a balance between aesthetics and politics without overlooking the changing variables of socio-historical backdrops. Any crisp description is neither probable nor feasible while faced with the uncertainty and constructiveness of ethnicity. Rather we should take a more nuanced approach to ethnic texts to save us from the pitfalls of harsh condemnation or undifferentiated celebration. With this position in mind, I find Sau-ling Wong's "'Sugar Sisterhood': Situating the Amy Tan Phenomenon" (Wong 1995), Rey Chow's "Women in the Holocene: Ethnicity, Fantasy, and the Film *The Joy Luck Club*" (Chow 1998), and Te-hsing Shan's "Xiangxiang Guguo: Huayi Meiguo Wenxueli de Zhongguo Xingxiang" 想像故國: 華裔美國文學裡的中國形象 (Imaginary homeland: the image of China in Chinese American literature) (Shan 2000) most useful when it comes to critical scrutiny of Tan's techniques of representation.

In an elaborated discussion of what she terms "the Amy Tan phenomenon" (Wong 1995, 174), meaning the crossover appeal and blockbuster success of Tan's fiction, Sau-ling Wong analyzes how the complex interplay of self-orientalizing and counter-orientalist possibilities in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* and *The Kitchen God's Wife* enables her to acquire a large readership that straddles both the mass market and academia. Wong is first and foremost concerned about how Tan's cultural "mistranslation" provides misinformation and

palatable Orientalism to middle-class American readers of the 1980s (181). She further identifies "temporal distancing" and "authenticity marking" as Tan's favorite devices in constructing a "quasi-ethnographic Orientalist discourse on China and the Chinese" (184). The misuse of "sugar sister" for "cousin" in *The Joy Luck Club* stands as one prominent example of such constructed misinformation. Still, towards the end of her essay Wong makes room for the possible "subversions of naive voyeurism" in Tan's novels that is detectable "by the reader attuned to questions of cultural production" (191).

While Rey Chow's reading focuses on the film adaptation of *The Joy Luck Club*, it exemplifies a nuanced exploration of the technologies of representation of multicultural ethnicity. Chow first questions the "repressive hypothesis" with regard to the discourse of ethnicity and identifies an inherent Foucauldian Panopticonism embedded in the question of authenticity (Chow 1998, 103).[2] Under the "panopticist multiculturalist gaze" the confessional and autobiographical narratives produced by ethnic writers in turn become "the *National Geographics* of the soul—the observation platforms and laboratories in which the 'perverse' others—the 'inmates'—can be displayed in their 'nonconforming' and 'abnormal' behavior, in their strangely coded practices and rituals" (103–4). Yet while she is keen to the power relationship within such Orientalist visual practices, Chow also advocates a supplementary reading in which she juxtaposes *The Joy Luck Club* with *Jurassic Park* to analyze how melodrama "offers a privileged view of the basically mechanic or technologized nature of… sentimental emotions" (107). As such, *The Joy Luck Club* is "a legend of fantasy" that dramatizes the metaphoricity, textuality, and seriality of Chinese-American "history" and is always "recuperated into a Western notion of otherness" (111). The mothers in *The Joy Luck Club*, in particular, are primarily melodramatic "metaphors and stereotypes." As Chow puts it, "Behind each mother is thus always another mother. Mothers are, in other words, not a replacement of 'fathers' but their displacement; not simply another self-sufficient 'origin' but always already a mark-on-the-other, a signifier for another

2 Chow points out, "The discursive ferment and mechanisms that surround 'ethnicity' in our time share many similar features with the 'repressive hypothesis' that Foucault attributes to the discourse of sexuality. Chief of all is the belief in 'ethnicity' as a kind of repressed truth that awaits liberation. In order to facilitate this liberation, it is not enough that we identify the hidden motifs and inscriptions of ethnicity in all cultural representations; it is believed that we also need to engage in processes of confession, biography, autobiography, storytelling, and so forth, that actively resuscitate, retrieve, and redeem that 'ethnic' part of us which has not been allowed to come to light" (Chow 1998, 101).

signifier, a metaphor. Most of all, 'mothers' are legends: as much as being popular 'stories,' they offer, in themselves, ways of reading" (107).

Clearly Wong and Chow hold different positions towards Tan and the filmic adaptation of her novel. Nevertheless both of them are exemplary in providing non-judgmental inquiries into the politics of representation and the problematic of authenticity. Wong is critical of the self-orientalizing gestures in Tan but is also alert to the opposite impulses of counter-orientalist subversion in Tan and their relationships to cultural production; Chow unravels the underpinnings of emancipatory assumptions and the construction of melodramatic fantasy in ethnic textuality and visuality. Their works remind us that there are alternatives to the binary paradigm of the real versus the fake when it comes to representation of ethnicity.

It is fair to say that Amy Tan is always searching for a way to negotiate between the two worlds that are culturally different but integral parts of her lived experience as a Chinese-American writer. Te-hsing Shan takes on this transnational and transcultural aspect of Asian American texts and argues for the existence of a "doubly imagined homeland" in his reading of Asian American imagination of China (Shan 2000, 182). He observes that the Asian American texts he has examined appear to have "performative effects" in that they offer textual counter-memory to make up for the absences in the official American history (182, 209). This argument is an affirmation of the collective function of Asian American literature. What is most inspiring is his notion of "doubly imagined homeland." If, as Salmon Rushdie has stated, an immigrant writer "is obliged to deal in broken mirrors, some of whose fragments have been irretrievably lost" (Rushdie 1991), the homeland of what the second generation has constructed out of these fragmentary images and then represented through the mediation of English is inevitably a "doubly," even "multiply" imagined one. Tan's representation of China is the result of such a mediated transcultural and transnational imagination. In Tan's writing, China, as a (maternal) homeland, is always one of the main narrative axes and a result of multiple negotiations. And the sense of narrative haunting is also derived from this practice of transnational imagination.

Although employing different narrative models and strategies, Tan always resorts to the basic plot of negotiating transnational and transcultural differences. Up until her latest novel, Amy Tan's biggest burden—and asset—was her mother and her mother's Chinese homeland. No matter how the daughter characters try to resist, the way to spiritual and physical healings lies on the other side of the Pacific. Nevertheless the dual locations of identification always prove to be problematic for both the author and her characters. Perhaps because of an autobiographical instinct, Tan is at her strongest while

dealing with the daughter's uneasy relations with her daily environments, which according to Wong are always presented "with description of high material specificity or information density" (Wong 1995, 186). The antiphonal exchanges between mothers and daughters in *The Joy Luck Club* in which the daughters' stories are cradled by the two segments of maternal voices are truly emotionally evocative, for instance.

Tan's texts are most problematic when she tries to insert details about China and Chinese history which serve as "markers of authenticity" that will create "an 'Oriental effect'" according to Wong—and domesticate them for the purpose of exploring Chinese American familial relationships (187). "Sugar sisterhood" is one example; the failed pun on "Changmian" in *The Hundred Secret Senses* is another. The Chinese protagonist Kwan Li in *The Hundred Secret Senses* explains the name of her village Changmian as follows: "*Chang* mean [sic] 'sing,' *mian* mean [sic] 'silk,' something soft but go on forever like thread. Soft song, never ending. But some people pronounce 'Changmian' other way, rising tone change[sic] to falling, like this: *Chang*. This way *chang* mean [sic] 'long,' *mian* mean [sic] 'sleep.' Long sleep" (Tan 1995, 275). When it comes to fabric, however, in Chinese "mian" actually means cotton, not silk. Whereas Tan intends to play on the village name to display knowledge of China and to use it as a marker of authenticity, she only shows her poor understanding of Mandarin and a mistaken trust in her pinyin-English dictionary. Tan explains that she has relied on her pinyin-English dictionary for the puns on Changmian in the essay "The Ghost of My Imagination" (Tan 2003, 261). Sheng-mei Ma observes that "[i]t may not simply be Tan's inadequate understanding of the Chinese language that results in this error. Tan is likely to be romanticizing the Orient in the stock images of silk, jade, porcelain, and so forth. . . ." (Ma 2000, 123).

With all the suspicions against Tan's self-orientalizing gestures, I still would like to look at the positive contribution of Amy Tan to the tradition of Asian American literature and argue that her most significant contribution lies in her hybrid use of ghosts and the transnational diasporic narrative to create a narrative of transnational haunting. While still writing in the realistic mode, Tan chooses to branch into the fantastic. Her narrative of haunting differs from Kingston's in that whereas Kingston's ghosts—such as the Mexican ghost, the garbage ghost—are deployed at the metaphoric level, Tan's are real and "alive," such as the *yin* people (ghosts) who coexist with the living in *The Hundred Secret Senses*. In this highly personal "hauntology," Tan's ghosts are also closely linked with China and can be regarded as products of her obsession with the maternal memory, since China is inevitably intertwined with matrilineage in her texts. Overshadowed by the maternal will and consciousness, Tan's Asian

American daughters need to resolve all the narrative conflicts in China, a geographical space of the past that haunts their American present. Hence they need to physically or metaphorically "return" to China and this "journey back" becomes a problematic search for "roots." It is problematic because Tan's mothers are usually either dead or in danger of losing their memory, which is another form of death. Here I'd like to argue that embedded in Tan's novelistic discourse is a conflicting desire for matricide and obsession with the maternal body. In Tan's novels, the (Chinese) mothers are figures of authority that the (American) daughters have to contend with. While in need of exorcising an overwhelming "anxiety of influence," in Harold Bloom's term (Bloom [1973] 1997), the daughters are also fearful of facing the vacuum created by the absence of their mothers.

This conflicting desire becomes the narrative drive in Tan's novels and pushes the plots onward; it is also the base of her representation of China. The haunting presence of China creates an uncanny sense and "unhomely" effect. The daughters are therefore drawn into a certain kind of "structure of feeling" about China, as Avery F. Gordon has mentioned in the epigraph. In order to feel "at home," furthermore, they need to practice a "politics of accounting"—"to make contact with haunting, to engage the shadows and what is living there" and "develop a sense of historical accounting" (Gordon 1997, 18). In what follows I shall read three novels by Tan to give an account of her deployment of a narrative of transnational haunting.

Reading Amy Tan's Narrative of Transnational Haunting

Despite the fact that Tan's novels are always haunted by the maternal presence/absence, it is not until *The Hundred Secret Senses* that ghosts are officially employed. Whereas in Tan's previous texts these "Chinese superstitions" appear to be objects of suspicion and embarrassment for the American daughter,[3] in *The Hundred Secret Senses* she boldly juxtaposes the World of Yin with the present-day San Francisco. Why on earth does Amy Tan want to play with ghosts? As Avery Gordon observes, "To write ghost stories implies that ghosts are real, that is to say, that they produce material effects. To imply a

3 For example, for one of the daughter protagonists, Jin-mei (June), the Chinese mothers' mahjongg playing Joy Luck Club seems to be "a shameful Chinese custom, like the secret gathering of the Ku Klux Klan or the tom-tom dances of TV Indians preparing for wars" (Tan 1989, 16). This association of the mother's activity with racist practices and stereotyping indicates June's misunderstanding and mistrust of her Chinese heritage.

kind of objectivity to ghosts implies that, from certain standpoints, the dialectics of visibility and invisibility involve a constant negotiation between what can be seen and what is in the shadows" (Gordon 1997, 17). Our senses become enlarged and sharpened because of this constant negotiation and enable us to go beyond the limitation of the visible and the invisible—which is exactly the definition of the "secret senses" in the novel. According to Kwan, "Secret sense not really secret. We just call [sic] secret because everyone has, only forgotten. Same kind of sense like ant feet, elephant trunk, dog nose, cat whisker, whale ear, bat wing, clam shell, snake tongue, little hair on flower" (Tan 1995, 102)—which Olivia translates into "instinct." Kwan is the one character who has not forgotten her "secret senses" or "instinct." And her "mission" is to guide Olivia to face the tragedy of her previous life in China and to reconcile what has been left unresolved. This gesture of looking backward, of remembering, and engaging in a mythical trip of return, is the base of the transnational narrative. Ghosts in this novel, therefore, not only serve as reminders of one's spiritual power but also function to push the narrative forward.

In fact, the novel opens with the connection of Kwan and ghosts—"My sister Kwan believes that she has *yin* eyes. She sees those who have died and now dwell in the World of Yin, ghosts who leave the mists just to visit her Kitchen on Balboa Street in San Francisco" (Tan 1995, 3). In this very opening paragraph we encounter the typical Tanesque hybrid of Chinese and American landscapes. The American presence, down to the detail of the street name, is juxtaposed with the more generic Chinese underworld. After the defamiliarized opening, besides inserting a series of encounters with the ghosts, Tan continues to concentrate on the conflicts and final reconciliation between mothers and daughters as she delves into Chinese history, specifically the nineteenth-century Taiping Rebellion, to contextualize her portrayal of Chinese American experiences. In terms of the geography of the living people, Tan's story counterpoints contemporary San Francisco with a village in rural southeastern China and juxtaposes the war-torn, or Communist-ruled, Chinese village with the postmodern metropolis of San Francisco. Furthermore, in an attempt at new emplotment Tan creates a Eurasian protagonist, Olivia, and gives her a Chinese half-sister, Kwan, as the representative of Chinese culture and values. At thirty-six, Olivia and her estranged husband, Simon, are accompanied by Kwan on a trip to China. This venture is intended to save their marriage, but in a development unplanned by them, it settles business from another life. Here Tan takes a step toward "Chinese superstitions" to embrace the concept of reincarnation. However, the seemingly implausible plot of ghosts and reincarnation has been thoroughly naturalized in *The Hundred Secret Senses*.

For all her supernatural power to connect with the *yin* people, Kwan is not unlike the Chinese mothers in Tan's previous texts. Kwan, who conveniently takes over the maternal role because of Olivia's irresponsible Caucasian mother, comes from a younger generation of Chinese women than the Joy Luck mothers and Winnie Louie, the mother in *The Kitchen God's Wife*; yet she appears little different from the older women. Kwan is in fact Olivia's surrogate mother. Thus Tan's treatment of Kwan also places the emphasis on the blood tie between mothers and daughters seen in her previous texts. Olivia in her first-person narrative voice talks about how her half-sister ignores their obvious cultural and physical differences and clings to their sameness based on Chinese ancestry: "As she sees it, we're connected by a cosmic Chinese umbilical cord that's given us the same inborn traits, personal motives, fate, and luck" (Tan 1995, 21). This reference to a metaphoric "umbilical cord" echoes the famous statement by one of the Joy Luck aunties that "Your mother is in your bones" (Tan 1989, 31). Hence descent is always the deciding factor and the force that ties the two superpowers across the Pacific together; biological determinism overrides any possible individual dissent.[4]

And this Chinese umbilical cord has called Olivia back to China. Interestingly, Tan packages this trip to China with commercialism and professional specificity. In an attempt to save their failing marriage, Olivia and Simon have "conjured up a proposal … to write and photograph a story on village cuisine in China" (Tan 1995, 130) and then gained financial support from a potential publisher. Olivia's profession as a commercial photographer neatly falls into what Rey Chow calls the "*National Geographic*" mode, in which "the First world" can leisurely access "the Third world" through the mediation of camera lenses. This project also comes close to what Frank Chin has termed as "food pornography" in Asian American literature.[5] On the other hand, we may well read this trip, though a necessity to the emplotment of the novel, as one of Tan's gestures at anti-Orentalization, through which she metafictionally reflects upon her own writing practice. Both Olivia's article on Chinese village cooking or Tan's novels

4 This tendency of resorting to biological determinism in Tan's texts has its autobiographical origin. It is now a commonly known story that in 1987, when Tan and her husband accompanied her mother Daisy on a visit to China, she experienced a magical moment of "homecoming" and she emerged from the trip better equipped than before to cope with her double heritage and hybrid identity.

5 "Food pornography" is Chin's term referring to the selling of exotic ethnic foodstuffs and eating customs to please the imagination and palates of the mainstream customers. Please see Sau-ling C. Wong's elaborated discussion of this theme in Wong 1993, 53–5.

about the mothers' past in China are strongly suspicious of tourist voyeurism in which "the Third world" is consumed visually and thematically. The environmental disaster at the end of the novel after the archeological wonder near the village has been discovered bears witness to the catastrophic results of this kind of consumptive tourism.

Whether Tan is self-conscious about the consumption of China in her own writing or not, it is clear that the isolated mountain village Changmian is introduced as a place that represents China. For all its isolation, Changmian, which miraculously "has avoided the detritus of modernization" (Tan 1995, 204), has been "invaded" at least twice by foreign forces: the first time by American missionaries and foreign armed forces in the nineteenth century and the second time by the Eurasian couple Olivia and Simon, who unintentionally instrument the archeological discovery and bring global attention and ecological disaster to the village. We first "see" this village through Olivia's camera viewfinder. Olivia states,

> As I look through the viewfinder, I feel as though we've stumbled on a fabled misty land, half memory, half illusion. Are we in Chinese Nirvana? Changmian looks like the carefully cropped photos found in travel brochures advertising "a charmed world of distant past, where visitors can step back in time." It conveys all the sentimental quaintness that tourists crave but never actually see. There must be something wrong. I keep warning myself. Around the corner we'll stumble on reality: the fast-food market, the tire junkyard, the sign indicating this village is really a Chinese fantasyland for tourists. Buy your tickets here! See the China of your dreams! Unspoiled by progress, mired in the past! (Tan 1995, 205)

Olivia's first impression of Changmian is characterized by visuality and disbelief. The jarring juxtaposition of clichéd tourist language with the fantastic aura of the village further satirizes the hackneyed imagination of the American tourist. Olivia is singularly uneasy when she is faced with the "genuine article" and insists on creating an imagined and hidden postindustrial junkyard, which exposes her limitation as an American tourist. As mentioned, she is behind the "discovery" of Changmian and it is quite likely that her projection about the village—as junkyard and amusement park—will come true. An implied comment on the invasion of the neocolonial, modernizing power of the United States into a preindustrial space is suggested here. The reference to mist and Nirvana also cleverly linked Changmian with the misty World of Yin, signals the narrative logic of haunting, and demands "a willing suspension of disbelief" in order to get into the fantastic and "carefully cropped" world of Changmian.

In an extended narrative relay, Kwan's first-person narrative of the nineteenth-century China during the Taping Rebellion is interwoven with Olivia's narration of the novelistic present in San Francisco. Tan's choice of this specific time in Chinese history is a refreshing turn away from the background of the Sino-Japanese War in her previous texts, even though she may not be exactly correct about the historical and ethnic details. In order to link these two temporalities, Tan has to mobilize ghosts and the belief in reincarnation to serve as an external framework. For Sheng-mei Ma this transnational linkage reveals Tan's appropriation of "New Age chic" (Ma 2000, 117). However, ghostly haunting in the narrative importantly evokes and recalls Olivia's repressed memory of her Chinese ancestry and forces her to face the Chinese half within her.

At the end of the novel Kwan mysteriously disappears when she tries to rescue Simon; nine months later Olivia gives birth to Samantha, and both mother and daughter take up Kwan's family name Li. Getting the right family name is particularly important in the novel. Olivia has been trying to find a proper name after her divorce with Simon. In fact, even before her marriage she is troubled by the issue of family names since her mother has remarried many times. As Olivia confesses, "As I think more about my name, I realize I've never had any sort of identity that suited me, not since I was five at least, when my mother changed our last name to Laguni" (Tan 1995, 156). This inheritance of her stepfather's last name turns out to be an ironic twist when Olivia's mother finds that Laguni is not actually a proper surname but "a made-up name nuns gave to orphans. Laguni—like 'lagoon,' isolated from the rest of the world" (157). Kwan's revelation that Yee is not their father's real family name but a borrowed one is another shock to Olivia. Hence one of Olivia's "missions" in this text is to find a name, and by extension a proper identity, for herself. Thus the ending again simultaneously displays a matricidal desire and a wish to carry on the matrilineal line. Olivia's choice of family name clearly shows that she is making a voluntary connection with the sister whom she has been rejecting ever since they first met. As Olivia states, "What's a family name if not a claim to being connected in the future to someone from the past" (357)? This belated acknowledgement of Kwan and Kwan's family name swings the narrative, which is based on interactions between the living and the ghosts, back into the familiar Tanesque orbit of Chinese matrilineage and creates a fantastic and uncanny trinity of ghost/China/mother.

This "unholy" trinity resurfaces in *The Bonesetter's Daughter*. The novel goes back to Tan's familiar setting of China during the Second World War. Inspired by and written about the postmortem maternal body and memory, *The Bonesetter's Daughter* is predicated with a gothic domesticity, in which mothers and daughters are locked within a contest of mutual hurting and can only be

saved by a common ritual of seeking the voice and lost name of the maternal grandmother. Tan's allusion to Peking Man again domesticates the archaeological and anthropological project into a family affair. On a minor note, Lu Ling's first husband is a scientist on the archaeological team. Most important are the ways in which Tan interweaves this piece of Chinese history into her fictitious family story. For one thing, the novel seems to imply that Peking Man is the biological ancestor of the Bonesetter's clan. And the search for the bones of Peking Man leads to the first break between Lu Ling and her nanny, Precious Auntie, since the latter refuses to disclose the whereabouts of the secret family cave in which the bones of Peking Man are allegedly buried. Precious Auntie, who turns out to be Lu Ling's biological mother, is worried about a family curse if the bones cannot be properly restored to the cave. The scientific exploration is thus collapsed with the indigenous belief system. This hybrid approach once again utilizes the narrative of haunting.

Furthermore, ghost-writing, also connected with folk belief, effectively brings out the theme of transcultural negotiations in *The Bonesetter's Daughter*. Instead of being a superstitious practice, ghost-writing self-reflexively thematizes the difficulties of crossover communications. *The Bonesetter's Daughter* is by far the darkest of Tan's oeuvre, possibly because it was thoroughly rewritten after the death of her mother Daisy Tan, who had been a constant source and inspiration for the daughter's novelistic discourse, and suffered from Alzheimer's, like Lu Ling in the novel. In the curiously fatherless textual space, the act of ghost-writing thus links three generations of women together; for the guilt-ridden Lu Ling especially, this ritual of reaching toward the other world is an important ritual of exorcism. At the end of the novel Ruth, the granddaughter, starts to write her own book with the spiritual inspiration of the grandmother. As Nancy Willard observes in her review of the novel, "the dead returns, not to bear ancestral curses but to act as the writer's muse" (Willard 2001). Ghost-writing, in this instance, is a potent metaphor for both the act of cultural negotiation and translation as well as a metafictional reflection on the act of writing itself. Interestingly, this invocation of ghost and cultural translation, two major themes in Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, is again an act of paying homage to a mother figure. Thus, in *The Bonesetter's Daughter* what starts as a child's game of an alternative medium of communication turns out to be the major avenue for intergenerational, and by extension, cultural negotiations. Through the device of ghost-writing, Tan highlights the fact that any act of writing and reading is subject to interpretation and therefore uncertain reception. In this sense, ghost-writing can also be a metaphor for the creative effort of an ethnic writer whose practice of representing ethnicity is always

susceptive to interrogation and reinterpretation but who should never be stopped from finding his/her own voice.

Ghost-writing becomes ghost narration in Tan's latest novel *Saving Fish from Drowning*, since the whole novel is narrated by the ghost of Bibi Chen. Bibi had died a violent and mysterious death before the novel even started, and left behind her a well-planned and paid-for art expedition to China and Myanmar. Bibi's spirit travels along with her friends to Asia and witnesses how they have desecrated the local temple in Lijiang and left China in disgrace, and how they have been kidnapped by the Karen tribe in Myanmar, the tribal people who suffered genocide under the military government, and have mistaken one of the American tourists as the reincarnation of their savior "the Younger White Brother." Combining the gothic tradition, journalistic writing, political satire, and travel literature, the novel is a hybrid in the form of black humor. It is Tan's attempt at transforming her own writing after Daisy's death. Having lost the mother as her muse, Tan is taking her characters and readers on a wild ride to the mother's homeland and beyond, making forays into the new territory of global journalism and politics. The spirit of the mother, however, still haunts the novelistic discourse and "embodies" in the narrative voice of Bibi the ghost.

To make this thoroughly implausible plotline believable, Tan plays on the gothic tradition by inserting "a note to the reader," in which she describes how she chances upon and is inspired to write her novel by a manuscript of automatic writing recorded by a medium and supposedly dictated by the deceased San Francisco socialite Bibi Chen. The creation of a "ghostly" narrative frame for her novel is to give credibility to the story. So is the newspaper clipping that comes right after the note, reporting the mysterious disappearance of eleven American tourists. Together the ghostly frame and the journalistic reportage, though of completely different generic conventions, are to create verisimilitude for this ghost story. Tan even appeals to her readers in the fashion of Samuel Coleridge to properly perform their duty as fiction readers:

> Whether one believes in communication with the dead or not, readers are willing to suspend disbelief when immersed in fiction. We want to believe that the world we have entered through the portals of another's imagination indeed exists, that the narrator is or has been among us. (Tan 2005, xiv)

This statement, which also comes from the gothic conventions, is nevertheless a self-deconstructive gesture which implies that the credibility of the plot is in fact suspect. Hence Tan's attempt to "authenticate" the ghost story by mobilizing

the gothic tradition and contemporary journalism only serves to highlight the fact that the so-called reality is only fabricated simulacrum in any kind of writing. These "pretexts" to the novel proper thus function to remind us not to indulge in credulous reading and to strengthen the sense of black humor which runs through the novel.

In fact, black humor is always a latent feature in Tan's writing. In *Saving Fish from Drowning* Tan is nonetheless magnifying it and bringing it to the surface to create what she herself calls "a comic novel" in earnest. Nevertheless, mothers and China are still prominent in the narrative. The ghost narrator Bibi, who was born in Shanghai and immigrated with her family to San Francisco at the time of the 1949 Communist take-over, serves as a nodal point to connect and to embody the two features. Bibi is obviously the missing mother in the story, who looks after her tourist "children" even after her death. She is also the abandoned daughter who has been seriously traumatized by her own mother's absence. The plot goes that Bibi's mother died of diabetes right after Bibi was born, and the child was raised by her father's first wife, Sweet Ma. And Sweet Ma torments Bibi with abusive language against her mother and by teasing her with the only heirloom left by the mother—"a hairpin with a hundred tiny leaves carved out of bright imperial-green jade." This piece of jewelry was the gift from Bibi's father to celebrate the birth of the daughter and the origin of Bibi's name *Bifang*, "precious jade ... glorious spring" (Tan 2005, 25).

The traumatic memory of a lost mother is an important hidden text in the novel and later becomes the key to the mystery of Bibi's own death. Although Bibi appears to be an omniscient narrator in the novel, she cannot recall the real cause of her own death. The mystery is not solved until the very end, when the mother's hairpin turns out to be the murder weapon. Bibi had stolen the hairpin from Sweet Ma but it was stolen in turn by an unfaithful servant. Bibi's Chinese cousin has finally located the object and sent it to Bibi. This maternal heirloom became a lethal weapon because Bibi fell from the stool and the jade piece cut into her neck. Bibi's grotesque death can hardly be credible, and yet it is believable when the maternal discourse is considered. Bibi is literarily killed by maternal memory and love. When she received the long-lost jewelry, the first thing she noticed was that it was a hair comb instead of a hairpin, which provides a subtle comment on the illusive nature of memory. Then Tan spends the last page of the novel describing Bibi and the hair comb—"the two things remaining that had belonged to" the dead mother:

> I rubbed my mother's hair comb against my cheek and pressed it near my heart. I rocked it as one might a baby. For the fist time I felt the emptiness of her loss replaced with the fullness of her love. I was about to burst with joy. And then my knees grew weak. They wobbled and grew rubbery.

> I felt a softening wave and I tried to push it away. But then I realized what it was, my holding back my feelings so I wouldn't fall. Why should I not feel it? Why have I denied myself the beauty of love? And so I did not stop myself. I let joy and love and sorrow wash over me. And with the haircomb close to my heart, I plummeted off the stool. (Tan 2005, 472)

The intimate description of the way in which Bibi "mothers" the hair comb goes to disclose the depth of her sense of loss. Having never experienced or remembered the caress of her dead mother, Bibi transfers her daughterly emotion onto the object representing the mother's postmortem body and transforms it into a maternal embrace. Through this practice of transference and transformation, Bibi is able to reengage with the irrecoverable loss so that she can finally overcome it. The maternal heirloom from China is thus a loaded symbol of the Chinese heritage that the Chinese American daughter needs to contend with. The comb has reminded Bibi how she had been leading a loveless life, by holding back her feelings. Finally this epiphany of love kills her but also paradoxically frees her. And the destructive yet necessary desire for the mother is Tan's ultimate commentary on maternal love, which is behind each and every one of her narratives of transnational haunting.

Works Cited

Bloom, Harold. [1973] 1997. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chow, Rey. 1998. *Ethics after Idealism: Theory-Culture-Ethnicity-Reading*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gordon, Avery F. 1997. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kingston, Maxine Hong. [1976] 1989. *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts*. New York: Vintage.

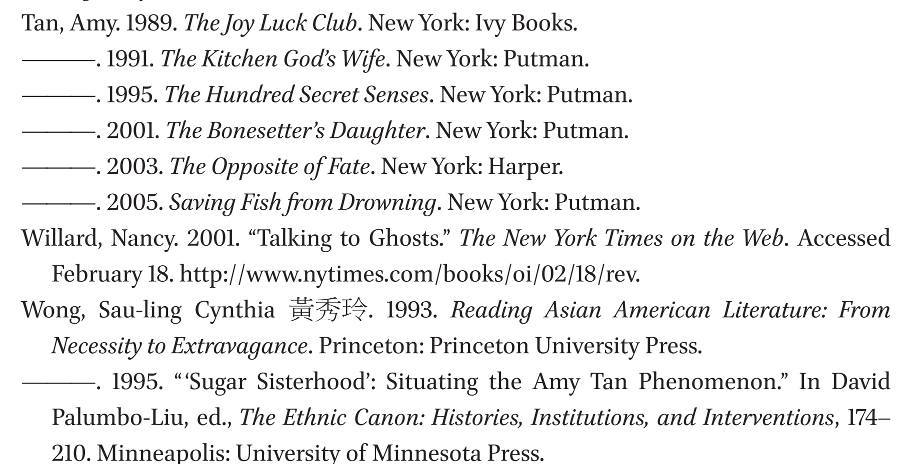
Li, David Leiwei. 1998. *Imagining the Nation: Asian American Literature and Cultural Construct.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ma, Sheng-mei. 2000. *The Deathly Embrace: Orientalism and Asian American Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rushdie, Salmon. 1991. *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981–1991*. London: Granta.

Sachs, Andrea. 2001. "The Joys and Sorrows of Amy Tan." *Time*, March 5: 46–8.

Shan, Te-hsing 單德興. 2000. "Xiangxiang Guguo: Huayi Meiguo Wenxueli de Zhongguo Xingxiang" 想像故國：華裔美國文學裡的中國形象 (Imaginary homeland: the image of China in Chinese American literature)," in *Mingke yu jiyi: Huayi Meiguo*



wenxue yu wenhualun ji 銘刻與記憶: 華裔美國文學與文化論集 (Inscriptions and representations: Chinese American literary and cultural studies), 181–212. Taipei: Ryefield.

Tan, Amy. 1989. *The Joy Luck Club*. New York: Ivy Books.

———. 1991. *The Kitchen God's Wife*. New York: Putman.

———. 1995. *The Hundred Secret Senses*. New York: Putman.

———. 2001. *The Bonesetter's Daughter*. New York: Putman.

———. 2003. *The Opposite of Fate*. New York: Harper.

———. 2005. *Saving Fish from Drowning*. New York: Putman.

Willard, Nancy. 2001. "Talking to Ghosts." *The New York Times on the Web*. Accessed February 18. http://www.nytimes.com/books/oi/02/18/rev.

Wong, Sau-ling Cynthia 黃秀玲. 1993. *Reading Asian American Literature: From Necessity to Extravagance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1995. "'Sugar Sisterhood': Situating the Amy Tan Phenomenon." In David Palumbo-Liu, ed., *The Ethnic Canon: Histories, Institutions, and Interventions*, 174–210. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Index